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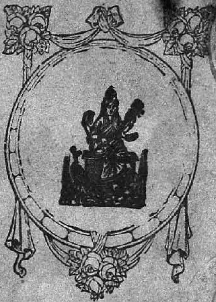

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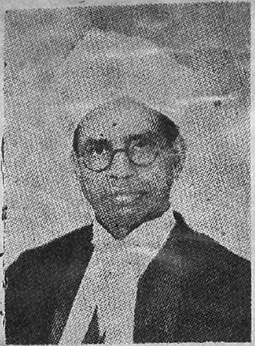

SRI ALLADI KRISHNASWAMY AYYAR.

1883] [1953

SRI V. V. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR.

1871] [1954

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i

Dr. Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer

Our country sustained an irreparable loss in the passing away of the distinguished jurist and patron of cultural activities, Dr. Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, in October, 1953. Dr. Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer was connected with the activities of the K. S. R. Institute, of which he was a Fellow, and the Journal of Oriental Research from its very inception in 1927. He contributed to the funds of the Journal and took a keen interest in its progress. He was a great lover of Sanskrit and Indian culture and was associated with the work of the Madras Sanskrit College also. Though, on account of his busy life and his pre-occupations in many fields of activity, he was not able to devote as much time as he would have liked to the study of Sanskrit and the literature in that language, he still tried to get himself acquainted with the Sanskrit classics from time to time with the help of eminent pandits. He was born in a 'Vaidik' family and ardently desired to continue the traditions of his ancestors. It is needless here to dilate upon the great qualities of head and heart and of the achievements of Dr. Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, which are well-known to people all over India. He was one of the greatest jurists of this generation and rendered lasting service to the nation as a member of the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constitution. His phenomenal success at the Bar and his undoubted leadership of the profession, which he maintained with unexampled greatness for a long number of years, are well-known. Though he became a very rich man on account of his lucrative practice in the profession of law, he remembered his student-days and helped the poor students in the city with lavish generosity. He took keen interest in many educational institutions in the city and was always ready to give financial help to them.

On behalf of the Journal of Oriental Research and the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, we express our sincere sorrow at the sad demise of this distinguished son of India.

K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer.

Sri V. V. Srinivasa Iyengar.

In the passing away of Sri V. V. Srinivasa Iyengar, leading Advocate and sometime Judge of the Madras High Court, in February this year, at the ripe age of 83, the Journal of Oriental Research has sustained an irreparable loss. He was a gentleman of fine culture and had a passionate love for Sanskrit studies and for Hindu culture. He took very great interest throughout his life in the spread of the knowledge of Sanskrit and of the classics of Sanskrit literature among our people. It was by his inspiration that the Madras Samskrit Academy was founded in the year 1927 and at the time of his death he was the President of the Academy. He was intimately connected with the Suguna Vilasa Sabha and gave a fillip to amateur dramatic activity and the production of Sanskrit drama. His short humorous plays in English, later rendered into Tamil also, have justly been popular. He was a man of boundless zeal and original ideas and to him the Samskrit Academy owed many enthusiastic, attractive and impressive celebrations. He was connected with the Sri Venkataramana Ayurvedic College and Dispensary also.

Sri Srinivasa Iyengar was a great and intimate friend of the late Prof. MM. Kuppuswami Sastri in whose honoured name the K. S. R. Institute was founded, and he was one of the chief collaborators with Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri and others in the starting of the Journal of Oriental Research and took great interest in its progress. He possessed a large heart and liberal outlook.

On behalf of the Journal of Oriental Research and the K. S. R. Institute, we beg to express our heartfelt condolences to Sri V. V. Ramadorai, son of Sri Srinivasa Iyengar, and to the other members of his family.

K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer.

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FACETS OF HINDU THOUGHT*

BY

DR. BETTY HEIMANN

I

THE LIVING STONE—IMAGE OF AN INDIAN DEITY

Mīrā Bāī, the wife of the prince of Udaipur, was a devout worshipper of the God Kṛṣṇa. In honour of her

---

*[Dr. Betty Heimann, Retd. Professor of Sanskrit, Ceylon University and formerly of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, who has numerous interpretative studies in Hindu thought to her credit, has in a work of hers to be published, "*Facets of Hindu Thought*," examined thirtytwo concepts under thirteen headings, as the following table would show :

FACETS OF HINDU THOUGHT

PREFACE : Prism of Hindu Thought—Exploration in Facets

INTRODUCTION :

(*a*) The Task of the Metaphysician

(*b*) The Pedagogical Way to Transcendence

SEGMENTS OF HINDU THOUGHT :

1. *Visible Thought* :
   Architecture and Sculpture
   Kathenotheism in Hindu Art

2. *Religious Ritual* :
   Significance of Prayer in Indian Religions

3. *Religious Psychology* :
   The Secret and the Enigma as an Approach to the Divine

4. *Religious Sociology* :
   The Concept of a Saint in India

5. *India's History* :
   (*a*) Ancient India—What can she teach us?
   (*b*) India's Past—A Key to India's Present
   (*c*) East-West Problems through the Ages

[library stamp]

(d) Hinduism and Islam—Their cultural Encounter
(e) Invaders in India—Their Position and their Task

6. *India's Physiology*:

(a) The Living Organism
(b) The Living Stone-image
(c) *Anna*-The Dogma of Transformation

7. *India's Politics*:

Individual and Group-concepts

8. *Indian Mathematics*:

(a) The Discovery of the Zero
(b) Counter-tension of the Zero-point

9. *Indian Metaphysics*:

(a) The Philosophy of the 'It'
(b) The Position of the Individual in Western and Indian Religions
(c) The Indian Concept of the Infinite
(d) Supra-Theism or A-Theism?
(e) The Indian Concept of Mysticism

10. *Indian Psychology and Epistemology*:

(a) The Indian Thinker an Acoustic or an Optic Type?
(b) Subjectivism or Objectivism in Indian Thought? —The Problem of Ātman

11. *Indian Eschatology*:

(a) Promise or Fulfilment?
(b) Enjoyment on Earth and in the Beyond—Salvation in the End
(c) Life after Death in various Religions
(d) The Ideal of Completion against the Ideal of Perfection

12. *Indian Logic*:

The Role of Logic in Indian Religions

13. *Indian Rhetorics*:
Significance of Metaphors, Similes, etc.

Three of these studies are published here. Ed.]

heavenly ideal she composed passionate songs of love and devotion. After the death of her husband she renounced all regal splendour and consecrated her life solely to the cult and worship of Kṛṣṇa, her chosen deity (*iṣṭa-devatā*). Once when again she made a pilgrimage to the God's sacred image in Dvaraka,—praying fervently for ever nearer union with Him, her God—the image opened its arms and drew her close. In this embrace princess Mīrā Bāī vanished from this world and at last found her complete Bliss. This life-story of the 15th century has for the Indian more than a merely legendary significance and reality. It reveals a belief ever kept alive in India all through the ages.

The old Vedic texts have special rites and ceremonies to invite a certain God to take his abode in an image as soon as the material form of a temple or a statue has been erected in his honour. According to Indian Optimism and Materialism, concentration in thought, word and deeds is never offered in vain. The God responds, is bound to respond, and takes his place of worship as and where demanded. He fills the image with His personality and essence. The God then acts from within the image. This Indian belief is based on several fundamental Indian dogmas. Firstly, not only man, animal and plant are imbued with the universal life-force. Stones also are animated with it, (a concept of a stone's soul which Jainism especially has fully developed). A second animation of the stone image is provided by the concentrated thought and action of the sculptor. And yet a third animation of the statue takes place by the concentrated thought of the initiating priest, by chants of invitation and welcome for the deity in question. A fourth animation of the image follows when the God responds to the call and takes his seat in the image. Furthermore, also the later veneration of the devotee adds to the life of this divine symbol while revitalizing it in continuous veneration. As such a piled-up accumulation of life-forces is assumed to be contained in the stone-image of acknowledged worship—an intensity of power drawn from various sources.

How is it then that the stone is primarily already imbued with a life-force of its own? The first answer is the general Indian cosmic concept that nothing in the world is excluded from the universal life-force and unity of the Cosmos. Besides, there may even underlie in this assumption a remnant of

pre-scientific science (Oldenberg's 'Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft'). In the timeless course of sequence and of nearly forgotten past all that at present appears to be dead matter, once had its living period of growth which has turned—again dynamically—into decay. The Western geologist also adheres, in a way, to this concept. Stones and strata are matter which have changed in this life process extended over *millennia*. Stone and coal, deadened now, once were part of the living wood and vegetable life. Even the meteorite, the fiery stone dynamically jumping and falling through the atmosphere to earth, represents life in cosmic motion. The modern Indian physicist and winner of the Nobel-prize, C. V. Raman, makes use of this ancient Indian idea of growth and decay in stone when he, now with the subtlest up-to-date instruments, examines and tests the growth and decay, the continuous dynamic change, in crystals. Furthermore, India is the country of natural precious stones and jewels. The fire and depth of colour embedded in an Indian ruby, emerald and sapphire reveal and reflect a hidden life. The precious stones seem to retain an eternal light and life. Also the semi-precious stones gathered in the paddy-fields emit rays of light and life—think of the different kinds of 'cats-eyes' found at random in Ceylon, all of them individual in pattern and design like animal and human eyes. (Most frequently in ancient Indian texts the eye is taken as the seat of the soul. The *puruṣa*, the essential man, is assumed to be seated in the eye, and, in macrocosmic correspondence, the soul of the Universe appears to be visible in the Sun, *Sūrya*, *Savitar*).

The living stone is here also taken as a universal symbol. The centre of the Divine is hidden innermost in the depth of a crystal. One cannot approach this centre directly, but segments of it or its cut facets mirror and reflect its innate light. None of the facets is more than one side of the many-sided divine prism, one segment only of a compound, a mere refraction. Each religion grasps the facet nearest to its way of approach, not hereby excluding the possibility of other means of access to the hidden Divine. The 'Philosopher's Stone', which ancient India has thus found, is tolerance and acknowledgment also of other religions. Indian tolerance towards the various high and low forms within Hinduism itself and her daughter-religions extends to a ready acceptance as a possiblity even for religions from abroad. This can only be understood under

the simile of a Divine crystal on which each new cut reveals yet another aspect of the spectrum of the Divine Light.

Let us now go back to the beginning of this essay and examine the stone-bound image from the wider angle just gained. The life-force of the stone itself, the life-force of the artist who constructed the image, the life-force of the initiating priest, the life-force of the God present in it, the life-force of the venerating masses—all these combined have the quality of an active accumulator with stored-up energy. However, each single image, intensified though it is with Divine significance, while still only being one, remains an accidental only with a still unwanted limitation and deficiency. Therefore, one tries to overcome limitation by further accumulation. In the Indian temples there are groups of images of the one or the other deities. Human forms, vegetable forms, animal forms are heaped together on the carvings of one image which represents a deity. Life-force in all its known forms concentrated and displayed represents only still a limited expression of universal energy. This awe-inspiring accumulation of past and present life-forces does not still answer the Indian call for completeness and all-embracing width (*pūrṇatva*). For the Indian not the single image, nor the groups of images are all embracing enough. Life-forces, it is true, are here compiled, but they are accidentally fixed and imprisoned, as it were. Out of the image or images, or even out of the entire temple-setting and its complex frame-work, the Indian urge for the Divine strives further. At frequent festivals the images are released, so to say, from their confined and temporary settings and—on the shoulders of their worshippers—are carried outside of the precincts into the wider open landscape.

Another characteristic of Indian religiosity—strange to the Westerner—may be explained from the very same ideal of reluctance towards limitation in form, time and place.

The Western Town-architect of Bangalore complained to me while showing me round, that he could not continue the modern highway through the town because a rubble-heap of a decayed temple barred his way. All the inducements of high compensation-money could not persuade the Temple-Brahmans to sell this place of ruins. A decayed temple is still, or even more so, a place imbued with holiness. Nature has once more taken its hold over the ground. Man-made work is now again embedded into the wider expanse of Nature. It is not man's

neglect, but a humble submission to Nature's major forces, that had caused or not hindered the temple to decay. On the banks of the Ganges, at the most sacred place of Hindu religion, a part of the temple-buildings has slid down into the water and yet still represents holy ground and even more so while purified by the Holy Stream. The same recapturing of Nature can be found everywhere in India and Burma, for instance at the sunken Sea-Temple in Mamallapuram and at the Buddha-sanctuary in Pegu.

The living stone-image of an Indian Deity finds its final consecration by reabsorption into the universal reservoir of Nature. The living distinct form is thus ultimately taken back into the all-embracing divine vagueness and indistinctness of form. Singleness is re-united with the whole.

II

ANNA—THE DOGMA OF TRANSFORMATION

India's terms have such a wide range of applicability that the hasty translator rarely gets hold of all their implications. The majority of these students of Indian diction dwell only on the one meaning nearest to their present purpose and their individual understanding. In dictionaries from Sanskrit into Western languages, we very rarely come across the full width of the Indian term in question. Or else, if actually all its implications are enumerated, they are hardly ever given in the order following the inner development of the concept in hand. The student of synthesis, who is more concerned with the psychologico-historical development of *ideas* than with the accidental facts of historical occurrences, feels it his responsibility to distinguish between the earlier and the later derivations latent in the term itself. One has to keep in mind the inner law of Indian lexicography that the early and the later derivations of the term in question, all of them still reveal the basic productively vague meaning of the verbal root from which the term originated. If one ventures to establish an inner law within the development of a term, then one has to state that the more concrete and the more materialistic usages of the term are the earlier derivations, whereas the most abstract one is the latest. Here it is not claimed that the earlier derivations are extinct while the younger ones have come into existence. However, the logico-psychological sequence of development must not be overlooked.

Three or more 'generations' of the terms are still, in a way, living as 'contemporaries.' Instead of giving the 'grandfather', 'father' or 'son' in a reverse order of arrangement, one has to follow the inner historical law within the term itself and accordingly to enumerate the various derivations in the lexicographical list.

Our concern in the present 'Facet' is the term *Anna* from root *ad*, to eat, and as such meaning everything that in a literal or metaphorical sense can be understood as 'food'.

This term *Anna* plays a significant part in the old Upaniṣads and is never lost sight of in the later systematic Hindu thought.

As is evident in several of my 'Facets', it is the biological foundation of Hindu thought which is retained even in the later abstract consequences of metaphysics. In recent years it is W. Ruben who has undertaken to give a fundamentally primitive and also in its consequences primitive and materialistic interpretation of the Upaniṣads ('Die Philosophen der Upanischaden,' Bern, 1947). He is aware of the importance of the term *Anna*, but, according to his outlook, he only sees the most concrete and early implications of the term. He neglects the fact that already in the philosophically creative Upaniṣads the term *Anna* means something more all-embracing and further-reaching than just mere 'food'. Because of the bad economic conditions of those times, W. Ruben argues, it is that *Anna* plays such a paramount part in the discussions of the Upanisads (*cf. e.g.* pp. 122 ff). The philosopher (sic!), he asserts, does not think about anything else so much as how to fill his stomach with food in order to keep himself free from bodily starvation. Similarly, he devalues the frequent Upaniṣadic speculation on sleep (*suṣupti*) by claiming that the enervating tropical climate results in continuous tiredness and sleepiness. In several of my former publications I pointed out the immense philosophical significance of the concept of *suṣupti*. The speculation on *suṣupti* is the earliest psychologico-philosophical research known as consciousness: on the different stages of full empirical consciousness (wakening), empirical semi-consciousness (dream-sleep) and super-personal consciousness or awareness of the basic unity between object and subject (*suṣupti*).

In the following short survey I shall deal with the term *Anna* in a similar manner. True, its early concrete meanings are still in use in the Upaniṣads, but side by side with them stand other derivations of the same verbal root which transcend the merely materialistic range.

Anna means everything which is eaten, digested and transformed on the fundamental basis of mutations. In the Chāndogya Up. 6,5,1 ff. we have a quasi-materialistic, and yet in its consequences a supra-materialistic, interpretation of 'food'. The grossest portion of the food eaten is eliminated. The middle part is transformed into bodily structure. Its subtlest portion serves to build up the human mind. Just as all food is broken up into its gross and subtle parts and also all liquid consumed is dissolved into three parts the grossest again

is eliminated, the middle part transformed into blood and the subtlest into *prāṇa,* the essence of the respiratory organs and of their inner circulations. Here the interconnection between Body and Mind which is evident in all Hindu philosophy elevates the merely bodily significance of 'food' into the sphere also of psychological conditions.

Chāndogya Up. 6,7,1 ff. one could perhaps interpret in a more materialistic sense. Here it is taught that after 16 days without food man's memory and other functions of his mind stop to work. If one adheres to the materialistic interpretation of 'Food,' the dogma is taught here that Matter is the *conditio sine qua non* also for the working of the mind. It is Matter which determines and establishes the Mind.

In other sections of the Upaniṣads the concept of 'Food' has already gained a wider aspect. In the Aitareya Up. 2,1 ff. hunger and thirst are the first impulses which after their coming into existence govern the deities. Man is their favourite object of Food. Thus the god Agni enters the human mouth as speech, the god Vāyu as Prāṇa, the Ādityas as sight, the *Diś* as hearing, etc. We clearly see here that 'Food' is understood as the fundamental neccessity and basis of all functioning of the senses, but the term is already used metaphysically. The deities enter the human body to draw their strength from it. Their food, however, consists of sense-perception, not of gross Matter any more. For the interpretation of this difficult passage one has to refer to the Indian interrelation of the concepts of Food and Sacrifice. In the Upaniṣads and also in the Bhagavadgītā and occasionally also earlier in the Ṛgveda, the sacrifice can consist not only of gross Matter, but also of subtle Matter, like thought and concentration. Thus everything that is offered of bodily or spiritual energy is a discharge of Matter in order to exchange for it something else *do ut des* : In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, love-union is likewise seen under the simile of mutual discharge of forces, a sacrifice, as it were, offered from both sides for the sake of the result, the child. Accordingly, each act of intellectual perception is a sacrifice or oblation, a discharge of energy for the sake of gain. The matter consumed transforms itself into something else, *i.e.*, the aim to be obtained. Nothing comes into being without drawing its force from something else formerly existent. In other words, the newly produced thing is the result of another one which is sacrificed, as it were, for the sake of

its result. Matter is transformed and consumed in order to produce a new condition and function. Its active faculties result in a new state.

To the same trend of thought belongs Bṛh, Up. 1,2,1 ff. It teaches that in the beginning of the process of production the whole world was covered by Death, which is Hunger. Out of Hunger or Kāma, desire (*cf.* Ṛgveda X, 129) results all creation. It is not the material desire for Food, but cosmogonically the desire for Matter which transforms itself in a dynamic process to the wanted result. One form of Matter serves to produce another one. Never is Matter 'dead'.

Attachment to Matter results in the manifold empirical forms. A variation of this cosmogonic concept, transferred into the psychological sphere, is the Buddhist concept of *Tṛṣṇā*. *Tṛṣṇā*, thirst, is the driving force, the Buddhists assert, which leads to attachment to Matter and transforms Matter into changeable forms.

Another metaphorical expression of 'Food' and its 'enjoyer' is the term *Bhoktṛ*. Not only the material substance of food but the enjoyment of all empirical happenings combined is a matter for consumption, *i.e.*, experience.

Another metaphor used for 'Food' in the Upaniṣads is that of honey. Bṛh. Up. 2, 5, 1 ff. sees the whole world under the simile of the 'Eater' and his 'Food'. The earth is the honey for all beings and, conversely, all beings are the honey for the earth. Out of the earth as *Anna*, all beings originate, but in the end, all beings as *Anna* are consumed, *i.e.*, re-absorbed into earth. They provide the manure out of which a new outgrowth will come forth. This reciprocal process of 'Foodness' is based on India's axiom of uninterrupted emanation and re-absorption of material substance in the sequence of growth and decay. Kaṭha Up. 4, 5 uses similar metaphors. Here too rice and curry is referred in order to elucidate the process of re-absorption of all forms into the universal reservoir of *Brahman*. All beings are meant to be its 'Food' in gross or subtler form. They were first built up out of a part of *Brahman* and then are re-absorbed in the end. However, *Brahman* never diminishes by their emanation from its infinite substance. Nor does it increase its infinite substance by their relatively small additional influx finally. The Finite does not affect the Infinite.

The whole process of transformation of substance within the empirical cycle is laid bare, step by step, in the *deva*-and *pitṛ-yāna*. Kauṣītaki Up. 1, 2 speaks of the transformation of Man after death into physical phenomena. According to his *karma*, Man rises up to sun or moon; from there he returns to the earth in stages. First, his substance is transformed into rain. As rain he nourishes the earth so that the plants can grow. The plants, on their part, nourish Man so that his *semen* can develop, and from his *semen* new human life will spring forth. Here 'Food' is nothing more or less than transformed substance of biological productivity.

In the theological sense *Anna* is an epithet of the God Agni, the consuming fire. Or else, God Savitar, the sun-god, is called *Anna* as the nourisher of the cosmic world. Characteristic is the designation of the God Śiva as *Anna*. He is the world-consumer in the reciprocal process of generation and destruction. One of his female aspects is the Goddss *Annapūrṇā*, the goddess of bountiful opulence. This female deity is preferably seen as the active Giver of Food, less as its receiver, though, according to biology, she receives the *semen* and adds her own bodily substance for the ripening of the embryo, her fruit. Passive and active forms of a verb are significantly interwoven in Sanskrit grammar—a reflection of India's basic dogma of mutual and reciprocal giving and receiving.

As we stated in the beginning of this essay, it is not as if with the occurrence of later wider meanings of a term the earlier, more limited ones, are abandoned. Even in recent times *Anna* is used also in the restricted sense of a Food or, in a way, closely connected with its early material meaning. In ancient Ṛgveda and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa the *Annajit*, the one who gains and attains Food, is a general honorific title. Here 'Food' comprises all desired achievements—again, a use of the term of a wider import than a merely materialistic one.

As to the *Karma* theory, here,. too, the concept of 'Food' is metaphorically employed. *Vipāka*, the ripening of the *Karma*, is a term literally derived from the cooking or boiling of the rice, the staple food of India through the ages. Just as the rice is prepared by boiling for consumption, so the *Karma* slowly matures till it is ready for fruition and immediate absorption. Here beyond the originally limited concrete meaning of 'Food,' *Anna* has widened into a universal

cosmic law. What you have "cooked' for yourself be prepared to consume and to digest.

Even in modern Hinduism, *Anna*, the Food, plays a most important part, especially when a magical significance is assigned to it. Man *is* what he *eats*. As such the food has carefully to be kept pure and must be meticulously handled. Even if the privileged stranger is allowed to come near the main image of the Temple, he is strictly forbidden to enter the Brahman kitchen. There his shadow even from a distance would pollute the purity of the Brahman food. A Brahman can eat only what a Brahman has handled and cooked. He cannot take his meal in the presence of a non-Brahman, neither in his home nor anywhere else.

A last and only a modern use of the term *Anna* is its designation of a coin of recent currency. *Anna* is the 16th part of a Rupee and suffices to provide for a coolie's daily meal of rice.' Here we have to understand *Anna* as the minimum expense for Food (German 'Zehrpfennig'). Thus *Anna* now stands as a symbol and standard of value of livelihood. Salt also and even other more precious objects of currency like pearls can be understood under the term *Anna*, the substance of maintenance and sustenance of living.

Anna, then, means 'Food' in all the various meanings of substance and sustenance. It is apparently akin to the Greek term *hylē*, Matter. However, all through the ages *Anna* is *hylē*—not in the sense of a *keimenon*, a static foundation, but *hylē* in motion and dynamics, a substance continuously changing and transforming itself.

Thus *Anna* serves as a term which lends itself to metaphysical, macrocosmic-physical and microcosmic-physical applications. From olden times up till to-day *Anna* is the *conditio sine qua non* for all transformation, for process and progress, material, intellectual and spiritual alike.

III

THE COUNTER-TENSION OF THE ZERO-POINT

In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad 2, 1, 19 there is the pregnent simile of the spider which is sitting in the central point of its cobweb, emitting and sometimes re-absorbing threads from its body. These threads extend in concentric circles and form wider and wider visible circumferences. This simile is considered so important that it is, once and again, repeated in the later Upaniṣads, e.g., in the *Muṇḍaka, Śvetāśvatara* and *Maitrāyaṇa*. *Brahman*, the principle of all beings, is likened to a spider. Its cobweb is the visible world. Let us concentrate on this simile which contains the essence of India's world-view. Its implications have developed in detail in all the following periods of India's classical thought based on the Upaniṣads. In the process of the extension of this cobweb the supporting "crosswebs" form diameters of concentric circles, all cross-threads lying either on the same level of one concentric circle or in further expanding planes, according to the pattern. Beside these diametrical lines there are also divergent, but adjoining, radii of these circles; extreme opposites and the lines in between all starting from the central point of the texture of this cobweb.

And yet another aspect of this simile. All the different points of this structure, near or far as they may be from the centre-all are inter-connected, caught, as it were, in the general frame-work Not one of them oversteps the periphery and all of them can be traced back to the central starting-point· The Zero-point is the potential All-point.

With regard also to the transitoriness of all worldly structure this simile of the spider and its web is instructive. The spider emits a flimsy structure. This may finally be destroyed, but the productive capacity of the spider remains for ever active. The present kind of cobweb and later another kind of cobweb spreads, is destroyed and yet an infinite number of further constructions is potentially ever feasible.

This short and apparently playful simile has its application in all different branches of fully developed Hindu thought. We can apply it to Hindu religion, metaphysics, physics, logic, ethics, and to the mathematical, grammatical and historical conclusions of India's world-view.

General primitive thought has outside India also produced the ambiguous concept of Taboo. 'Taboo' means a thing secret and/or accursed. This same complexity of thought is reflected in the *numen* of Roman religion. The working of the deity is awe-inspiring, venerable and awful. From early Ṛgvedic times the Sanskrit equivalent of Taboo is *ugra*, a thing terrible or blissful in its effect. The basic meaning of *ugra* is 'powerful', a neutral force which may make itself felt in good or bad effects. Deities and demons (*asuras* and *devas*) are exponents of this ambiguous concept of power. In *Avesta* and *Ṛgveda*, in both these interrelated Aryan religions, the good and the bad deities change places according to the view-point of the spectator. Ṛgvedic *deva* corresponds to Avesta *ahura* and *vice versa*.

Another term of early Indian religions also pregnant with ambiguous meaning is to be found in the Ṛgveda. *A-bhua*, literally is something which has not *bhva*, development (*bhū*). As such *abhva* means something uncanny which one cannot grasp and find out. It may be as such good or bad, or both, but always beyond our reach.

Śūnya and *śūna*, the 'swollen' and the 'void', are other Indian terms of contrary or even apparently paradoxical meaning. For the pure philologist these two terms cause difficulties. Though he admits that they probably both belong to the same root *śūn*, he is reluctant to accept their inter-connected meaning. How can the 'swollen' which transcends the distinct form and the 'void' which has not yet taken on a distinct form, belong to the same root? Both are philosophically the same, as both are outside the range of clear visibility. The spider, which has not yet emitted its threads and the spider which extended its threads into infinite expansion, is actually the same spider.

In Indian *metaphysics* the same tension of diametrical or nearly divergent opposites is evident. *Brahman* is the productive Zero-point infinitely extended and infinitely contracted. It is as the true 'It', no single personal and individual form alone, not even the sum of all future, present and past individual forms alone. With three quarters of Its being it stands for ever outside the range of manifestation (Puruṣa-sūkta, Ṛgveda. 10, 90). It is immanent in, and at the same time transcendent of, all worldly structure (*cf.* the spider).

Thus there is another logical distinction which does not play a part in India's philosophy—much to the amazement of Western logicians. Matter and Spirit, the two basic substances, which Western philosophy tried through the centuries to keep distinctly apart, have in Indian philosophy always been considered as but two aspects of the central principle of universal efficacy. True, the so-called dualistic *Sāṅkhya* system established *Puruṣa*, Spirit, and *Prakṛti*, Matter, as two transcendental distinct substances. However, in the world of manifestation they work indiscriminately. Here in the empirical sphere it is *Prakṛti* which functions visibly and pure Spirit serves as its mere stimulant. And yet another conclusion for the biological sphere can be drawn from the spider simile. Quasi-mechanically through a biological urge only, the spider emits or re-absorbs its vital productivity.

Also in the sphere of logic proper, the spider-simile has its validity for the Indian. As the cobweb develops and extends from the productive point of the neutral Zero, so the complex verbal root develops in contrary or divergent directions. Indian logic does not form *'termini'* in the Western Latin sense of border-lines with fixed contours which compress from outside the meaning of a term into a unity. Conversely, the Indian term develops all its latent possibilities from inward outwards. Like the unfolding of flower-petals in ever-wider circumference the term grows from the centre, and the wider the circles of its application grow, the more divergent become its derived meanings.

The Western logician thinks in *'Aut-Aut'*, in distinctive 'Either Ors,' the Indian, on the other hand, in *'Sive-Sives'*, in 'This as well as That'. All the diametrical opposites are actually inter-related diameters of the same frame-work. The clear logical distinctions are here interwoven. The Western logical dogma of the 'Exclusive Middle' is here wiped out. For the Indian thinker a thing can be at the same time an A and a non-A.

Even negations are not always in Indian thought full exclusive negations. They may also be only partial negations in Time or Space.[1]

Indian *Vidyā*, knowledge, is not diametrically opposed to *A-Vidyā*, Non-knowledge. True *vidyā*, complete knowledge,

1. Cf. for more details my 'Significance of Negations'.

lies before and after the incomplete empirical knowledge (*a-vidyā*) which is stained or veiled by the embarrassing multitude of actual experiences.

Single terms, like for instance *śīla*, character or behaviour, also contain in themselves a neutral complexity. According to the context it may take on the meaning of 'good' or 'bad' character. Indian Ethics, too, are nourished and built upon this notion of a neutrally productive centre. The spider fulfils its task of construction and destruction unconcerned. Indian Ethics only see action as a neutral whole, which may be directed to a positive or negative end. The Yoga-sūtra 4, 7 state that the *Karma*, action, of an average man is either black (bad) or white (good) or a mixture of both. The perfected Yogin, however, stands beyond all *Karma*, good and bad alike. First he converts all *Karma*, external action, into *Pari-Karma*, inverted action. Finally, no action at all matters. Contemplating with detachment personal good and bad alike he comes to the stage of utter indifference towards pleasure and distress which may befall him and his fellow-beings as mere accidentals.

Good and bad, both can be traced back to the same neutral centre, the zero starting-point of the universal structure. Thus the favourite god of Hindu theology, God Śiva, fulfils his inter-related functions of destruction and generation with the same detached smile of indifference.

Accordingly Indian mysticism draws all consequences implied in the Greek term *mueō* while fully realizing the primary unity of all universal happenings. *Mueō* is originally a medical term, re-uniting the edges of a wound which have split apart by casual accident. Another meaning of the Greek word *mueō* is to close the eyes, in order not to see the divergent distinctions of empirical reality. Mysticism tries to regain the productive complexity of indistinct oneness. What is indiscernible night for the average man, is clear day-light for the enlightened one. Greek cosmic and metaphysical thinkers like Heraclitus and Plato dwell also on the reversion of values of the average man for the enlightened one. '*Sōma* is *sēma*' says Plato. The living body (*sōma*) is in a higher sense a *sēma* (a tombstone). The empirical distinctions turn into their opposites from the higher view-point. Reversion or re-unity of distinction here is the aim.

The empirical distinctions of *Physics* too lose their contrary meaning for some Greek, and more so for the Indian, physicists. Heat and cold, health and illness are no fixed opposites, but only gradations of one and the same matter. Past and future are actually the same extension around the zero-point of the present. A significant example of this view has been retained even in the modern language of Hindustani. *Kalē*, literally 'in time', means yesterday or to-morrow and its corroborated form of *kalē-kalē* accordingly indicates the day before yesterday or the day after to-morrow. The zero-point of time is the present.

Zero, the mathematical discovery significantly made by the Indian thinkers, is the productive point of indifference between positive and negative numbers, between destructive and constructive development. It is the All and it is simultaneously the None, and thus the term *śūnya*, zero, is adopted for the metaphysical concept of Nirvāṇa, the Buddhist re-absorption point or as *Brahman-nirvāṇa*, the re-absorption and also the emanation-point.

Concrete evidence of this basic ambiguity of meaning can be found in such factual sciences as Indian Grammar and Rhetoric. All worldly objects are inter-woven and can be exchanged among each other in similes. The soothing influence of a woman's face is likened to the moon's cooling rays. Her pouting lips are another expression of the vitality of sprout and fruit. The king's splendour (*tejas*) can be compared with the scorching fire of the sun into which no one dares to look straight.

Besides these cosmic laws of interchangeable forms which efface differences and distinctions of existing phenomena, Indian Rhetoric revels in *śleṣas* (intertwined meanings), another outcome of this fundamental doctrine of complexity and inter-relations of contrary and divergent aspects or meanings. The same aggregate of words and sounds can be dissolved in various interpretations according to the contexts in hand.

Sanskrit Grammar, too, bears witness to the acknowledged value of ambiguity and productive complexity. In Indian diction most of the basic verbs used over and over again, are not bound to one fixed meaning only. They pertain to more than one sense-function. *Varṇa*, for instance, means colour and sound. *Khyā* is 'to say' and 'to see'. Other verbs contain

even opposite meanings: *yu* means to unite and to separate. *Vas*, is to dwell and to speed. These two last examples seem to embrace the widest range of opposites. They stand for two different stages of the same process, *i.e.*, for two different moments of the same function. For further instances: *ṛj* means to move and to stand still (on reaching the goal); *hā* is to attain and to give up (what has been attained). Here our initial simile of the spider is again effective. The widest expansion is also the turning-point back to compression.

Not only the rational meaning alone determines the significance of a Sanskrit word. The irrational and unphilological relation between similar sounds produces similar meanings: for instance *dyut* and *jyut*; *cud, truṭ*; *tud, tuj* and *nud*, all mean to pierce and to push. Sensitivity towards sound and the previous state of sound production results in similar psychological effects, even in philologically unrelated verbal roots. The psychological connection of similar articulation establishes relationships between philologically unrelated verbal roots. India's keen sense for onomatopoeia accounts for this ambiguity of meaning and blurring-out of distinctions.

Action in itself matters more than our subjective attitude towards it. In contrast to Western languages Sanskrit prefers to express action in using the passive form of the verb and to express the actual agent not as the all-important subject (Nominative), but only as the secondary case of the Instrumental, an indirect case.

The intentional complexity of Sanskrit concepts is in general negatively valued by the Western observer. He sees in this ambiguity primitive remains of a not-yet-attained maturity of clear distinction. But have we not, in our so-called progressive thinking, barred ourselves from the full potentialities of indistinctiveness? Like the cobweb of the spider primitive productivity of thinking can further and further expand. The Westerner has bound himself to limitation, separation and distinction which by their very arbitrariness impede the productive flow of further potentialities. We have broken the spider-web into isolated bits, thereby destroying the natural efficacy and beauty of continuous growth.

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MADRAS

THE WORLD OF VĀLMĪKI.*

BY

N. RAGHUNATHA IYER

Valmiki the *tapasvi*, meditating on the nature of things, asks Narada, "Who is the perfect hero?" A rather unusual question for a *tapasvi* to ask, we might think. But he could have gone to no one better qualified to answer it. For Narada has the freedom of the three worlds: he knows the past and the future as well as the present. And he answers the question without a moment's hesitation:

बहवो दुर्लभाश्चैव ये त्वया कीर्तिता गुणाः ।
मुने वक्ष्याम्यहं बुद्ध्वा तैर्युक्तः श्रूयतां नरः ॥ (*Bala* 1 7).

The accent is on the *nara*. There is no hint in the *Samkshepa* of the *avatar*, though long before the poem is done the receptive reader feels that even if mere men could have done many things which Rama did they could never be what Rama was. But the Rama of Narada is even for the Devarshi a unique phenomenon and a transforming experience. His reply is not improvised on the spur of the moment. He has *known* Rama by his *tapas* (बुद्ध्वा) just as Valmiki had been prompted by his *tapas* to ask the question to which the answer was Rama.

The searcher for Reality seeks it at all levels. And when Valmiki asked his momentous question the *Ekam Sat* was functioning at Its most puissant on the human plane and in the person of Dāsarathi Rama, as Narada with his spiritual antennae knew. And having found It, the seer must needs proclaim It. Narada did this by giving Valmiki the Rama story in outline. It acted like a ferment on his mind and produced a strange exhilaration. And then the thing happened—the archer confirmed in cruelty destroying a world of felicity with his greedy arrow. "But death and the greed that is the gateway to death shall not triumph," said the dreamer, as a wave of cosmic compassion surged in his bosom, and issued in

* The Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri Ramayana Endowment Lecture delivered on the Valmiki Day at the Madras Sanskrit Academy, 11—4—54.

immortal music; "did not Sri Rama triumph over the forces of nescience?" On a mind thus conditioned descended the inspiration that makes the creator. Brahma told him, "Enrich the human legacy with the sum of your realisation. Tell them for all time the Rama-katha; match the perfect verse with the perfect man." And the poet said:

कृत्स्नं रामायणं काव्यम् ईदृशैः करवाण्यहम् । (*Bala* 2 41)

And so a poem was born.

The dominant notes

Compassion and renunciation—these are the twin poles round which the universe revolves. And Sri Rama is the axis that upholds it in its essential truth (Satya) and in the integrity of its undeviating order (Ṛta). Valmiki knew this in his bones, as the saying goes. But he had to figure it all out and to put it across. He had to show the Timeless functioning in time, to unweave the worlds worked into the cosmic design and show them in their interconnection and modes of operation. If a profane comparison may be permitted, he looked at the microfilm of the Rama story enlarged by Dharma. It was our supreme good fortune that he did so; for it revealed a pattern suitable to the author's mood, without which, as E. M. Forster has well said, no great work of art is born.

Valmiki was in the mood to see Rama as a tree sprung from the bowels of compassion of Mother Earth and filling the space between Earth and Heaven in a passion of giving. To men stifling in their smallness, to the gods craving for security, to all things fleeing in fear from their own shadow he promises release by standing forth as the exemplar of भूतदया and अभय, even as does the Lord of the Dance in the चिदाकाश । And Valmiki saw his story polarised between compassion and renunciation.

Tārā, who is apt to strike the superficial as a pleasure-loving amoral woman, sees the truth of the Lord in a flash of insight:

निवासवृक्षः साधूनाम् आपन्नानां परा गतिः ।
आर्तानां संश्रयश्चैव यशसश्चैकभाजनम् ॥ (*Kish.* 15.19-20).

An age-long tradition has fittingly included the woman who spoke those profound lines—simple, sensuous, impassioned—

among the five great women (पञ्च कन्याः) whom we must remember gratefully: for only the pure of heart shall see God. Tara uttered what was not merely poetry but prophecy. Sri Rama at the time had given but partial promise of his fruition. He had indeed established himself as आर्तानां संश्रयः, the deliverer of the oppressed, by redeeming the Dandakas from the blight of Khara and comforting the Rishis who had suffered in patience. But Sri Rama was yet to stand forth publicly as the refuge of those in the last extremity: आपन्नानां परा गतिः। Sugriva had met him as an equal. Vibheeshana was still in the womb of time. Only Sita and Lakshmana knew what Rama had taken upon himself as his life's mission.

Saranāgati

In that famous colloquy between Sita and Rama in the ninth and tenth sargas of the Aranya Kanda Sita delicately poses a question of ethics in the old-fashioned terms of Varna and Ashrama. Sri Rama had told the *rishis* that he would make it his business to destroy the Rakshasas who were harrying them. Sita suggests that the promise was more inclusive than it need have been and that a *kshatriya* who had come to lead the life of a *vānaprastha* could act in a pragmatic way and, without violating his professional conscience, be content to remedy oppression where it arose concretely. He was not required to go out, like Don Quixote, in search of trouble; he should normally lay his weapons aside for the duration. Else, she points out, there is the danger of an implacable mind being cultivated, of cruelty without cause being practised.

स्नेहाच्च बहुमानाच्च स्मारये त्वां न शिक्षये ।
न कथंचन सा कार्या गृहीतधनुषा त्वया ॥
बुद्धिर्वैरं विना हन्तुं राक्षसान् दण्डकाश्रितान् ।
अपराधं विना हन्तुं लोकान् वीर न कामये ॥
क्षत्रियाणां तु वीराणां वनेषु नियतात्मनाम् ।
धनुषा कार्यमेतावद् आर्तानामभिरक्षणम् ॥
क्व च शस्त्रं क्व च वनं क्व च क्षात्रं तपः क्व च ।
व्याविद्धमिदमस्माभिः देशधर्मस्तु पूज्यताम् ॥

(*Aranya* 9.24-27).

Only she, the mother of compassion, could have uttered those noble words, she who was to give Hanuman—our representative, the representative of you and me in Sāketa—the message of humanity:

कार्यं करुणमार्येण न कश्चिन्नापराध्यति । (*Yuddha* 116.44).

But the Devi does not forget that the *kshatriya* cannot remit his primary duty, the *raison d'etre* of his existence, wherever he might be:

धनुषा कार्यमेतावद् आर्तानामभिरक्षणम् । (*Aranya* 9.26).

The duty of *ārta-trāna* is always there: no *kshatriya* seeing somebody suffer at another's hands can look on as if it were no business of his. He must put an end to it. Sri Rama endorsing Sita's statement (as if to pin her to it) says:

क्षत्रियैर्धार्यते चापो नार्तशब्दो भवेदिति । (*Aranya* 10.3).

He points out that the *rishis* are being oppressed before his very eyes. They can destroy the oppressors with a curse, but that would be to deviate from their paramount duty of अक्रोध । So they ask him to do *his duty.* And he has promised he would. Should occasion arise he would have to kill, if only so he could succour the oppressed.

So far Sita could follow him. But he goes further. He says, "They have sought me as their only refuge":

मां सीते स्वयमागम्य शरण्याः शरणं गताः । (*Aranya* 10.4).

And they had added:

त्वन्नाथा हि वयं वने । (*Aranya* 10.16).

When they put it that way, when they said that, if he should disappoint them and prove unequal or untrue to his Kingly responsibility—which is something far greater and more comprehensive than that of a rank and file *kshatriya*—they must unresistingly die at the hands of the harrying Rakshasas, Rama could only do the one thing that was consonant with his own nature and his Kingly duty:

मया चैतद्वचः श्रुत्वा कात्स्न्र्येन परिपालनम् ।
ऋषीणां दण्डकारण्ये संश्रुतं जनकात्मजे ॥
संश्रुत्य च न शक्ष्यामि जीवमानः प्रतिश्रवम् ।
मुनीनामन्यथाकर्तुं सत्यमिष्टं हि मे सदा ॥

अप्यहं जीवितं जह्यां त्वां वा सीते सलक्ष्मणाम् ।
न तु प्रतिज्ञां संश्रुत्य ब्राह्मणेभ्यो विशेषतः ॥
तदवश्यं मया कार्यम् ऋषीणां परिपालनम् ।
अनुक्तेनापि वैदेहि प्रतिज्ञाय तु किं पुनः ॥ (*Aranya* 10.17-20).

Thus was the *Saranāgati Dharma* first proclaimed: Vibheeshana was to obtain its fine fruit. Sita said no further. But when Rama, victorious over the Khara horde, stood before her, she had no *sāstraic* doubts, no ethical qualms:

तं दृष्ट्वा शत्रुहन्तारं महर्षीणां सुखावहम् ।
बभूव हृष्टा वैदेही भर्तारं परिषस्वजे ॥ (*Aranya* 30.39-40).

She saw that where there was a great cancer it had to be removed; a little lancing would not do. Khara and his crowd had not been caught in the act by Rama; their ostensible quarrel with him had nothing to do with the redressal of wrongs. But they had killed thousands of inoffensive people, and they would kill again if they had a chance. They wanted little or no provocation for the cruelty that came naturally to them. And they had burdened the earth sufficiently long. The first application of the *Saranāgati Dharma* proved a turning point in the history of the Dandakas. It was this promise of a new life that Tara had sensed: she told Vali in effect, "A new and redeeming power has come into the world: make haste to profit by it."

Vali

But Vali was not listening. Indeed he was one of those who cannot give heed to what others say: they are too self-centred. And Vali had in addition the defect of his race. Though Western critics have not yet got over the shock of discovering that an epic could find room for monkeys and demons, the practice of their own poets, from Homer with his centaurs to Spencer with his dragons, shows that such symbols may be effectively used to depict the deviations from that human norm with which the poet identifies himself. In the Ramayana the poet takes the civilisation that had flowered in Dasaratha's Ayodhya as the norm of human culture. The royal family of the Ikshvakus was something more than a dynasty. Its political fortunes had varied; its territory was not perhaps larger than that under Janaka. But Manu, the first of kings, was its progenitor, and its name had been

synonymous with righteousness and valour. The poet takes it as the symbol of an organic society fixed in the matrix of *dharma*. Such a traditional society is devoted to the balanced pursuit of the *purushārthas*. It values the virtues of self-control, discrimination and circumspection. Its social mores are largely governed by these values.

But the poet has seen other societies which are ruled by other dominant impulses. There are those that live at the level of the instinct. They are normally kindly, except when they are crossed; they are busy getting and spending. They take their pleasures avidly and are not prone to look before and after or to pine for what is not. They do not debate about Fate and Free Will and such high things. In other words, they are content to take life as it comes and not bother unduly about what happens thereafter. It is this instinctive[1] life that the poet describes as generic to the Vanara race. The noblest Roman of them all, Hanuman, had vicariously to stand the good-humoured gibe of Bharata, the kind-hearted, who when he found Rama's arrival delayed too long for his patience cried out:

कच्चिन्न खलु कापेयी सेव्यते चलचित्तता । (*Yuddha* 130.22).

The Vanaras have their code: but their social values, if we may so call them, are different. Hence much of the hair-splitting over the ethics of Sugriva's having annexed Tārā or Vāli's having annexed Rumā is beside the point. Though Rama blames Vāli for having deprived his younger brother of his wife, he thinks of it primarily as an act of cruelty to the younger brother and not as an offence against sexual morals. When after Vāli's death Tārā lives with Sugriva it seems to be regarded as a legitimate tribal custom. "You had a father's duty towards him, if your regard for Dharma was genuine," says Rama:

यवीयानात्मनः पुत्रः शिष्यश्चापि गुणोदितः ।
पुत्रवत्ते त्रयश्चिन्त्याः धर्मश्चेदत्र कारणम् ॥ (*Kish*. 18.14).

He goes on, "Besides I owed a duty to my friend, and I had to do it. If you had followed Dharma you could have obviated the necessity by redressing his grievance."

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1. That the monkeys ought not to be judged by the Aryan code of personal morality is implicit in the Ramayana account of their origin. Begotten for a special purpose by the gods, who are *bhogis* and not *karmis*, on Vanaris and Rikshis, they naturally live an amoral life.

वयस्यस्योपकर्तव्यं धर्ममेवानुपश्यतः ।
शक्यं त्वयापि तत्कार्यं धर्ममेवानुवर्तता ॥ (*Kish.* 18.30).

"But", goes on Sri Rama, "by long experience Sugriva knew that it was hopeless to look to you for justice. You were implacable in your hatred. He laid that plaint before me and I undertook to redress his wrong." In fact Sugriva had said,

वालिनो मे महाभाग भयार्तस्याभयं कुरु । (*Kish.* 5.24).

That, it seems to me, is Valmiki's *parama-tātparya* regarding the ethics of Vali's killing. Even if Vali had offered his friendship and help to Rama the latter could not have accepted it, had he known of Vali's *deergha-vairam*[2]—the most unnatural of feelings that could be entertained towards a brother. To refrain from adding to the quota of another's sorrows or tribulations is, the poet seems to think, the duty of the least of God's creatures, of प्राणिसाधारण. Look at the beautiful sentiment he puts into the mouth of Supārsva, Sampati's son, who blocked Ravana's way and was entreated by him to let him go:

सोऽहमभ्यवहारार्थी तौ दृष्ट्वा कृतनिश्चयः ।
तेन साम्ना विनीतेन पन्थानमभियाचितः ॥
न हि सामोपपन्नानां प्रहर्ता विद्यते क्वचित् ।
नीचेष्वपि जनः कश्चित् किमङ्ग बत मद्विधः ॥ (*Kish.* 59.16-17).

Contrast this with the way Vali had pursued poor Sugriva round and round the world till at a lucky moment Hanuman thought of the sanctuary at Risyamooka.

Because Vali quoted Dharmasastra Rama too went at it hammer and tongs. But he knew—and Vali came to agree—that you cannot understand the scriptures by making an *ad hoc* raid upon them as our social reformers do. You have got to live the good life:

सूक्ष्मः परमदुर्ज्ञेयः सतां धर्मः प्लवङ्गम ।
हृदिस्थः सर्वभूतानां आत्मा वेद शुभाशुभम् ॥ (*Kish.* 18.15).

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2. The overthrow of Parasurama was the first blow struck at *deergha-vairam.* It symbolised the close of an era. A new principle, of mercy tempering justice, was to be exalted over the harsh Kshatriya attitude against which Rama inveighs time and again..

Vali simply admits it; and his dying message to Sugriva betokens the sad submission to fate which is so common to high spirits who know that their day is done:

सुग्रीव दोषेण न मां गन्तुमर्हसि किल्बिषात् ।
कृष्यमाणं भविष्येण बुद्धिमोहेन मां बलात् ॥
युगपद्विहितं तात न मन्ये सुखमावयोः ।
सौहार्दं भ्रातृयुक्तं हि तदिदं जातमन्यथा ॥ (*Kish.* 22.3-4).

"The comradeship so natural to brothers was, alas, not to be for us." The more is the pity, because Sugrīva has a genius for friendship. And he lavished it all on Sri Rama who could chaff him genially on his knowledge of *sāstra* and *sishtāchāra* and could afford to speak the truth to him—a strain which few human friendships seem able to stand. Valmiki says that Sri Rama, looking slily at Lakshmana with a smile, said to Sugriva:

न सर्वे भ्रातरस्तात भवन्ति भरतोपमाः ।
मद्विधा वा पितुः पुत्रास्सुहृदो वा भवद्विधाः ॥

(*Yuddha* 18.15-16).

Sugriva

That is one of the great sayings of the Ramayana which requires a little thought. It seems to me that it was intended to emphasise the truth that the self-denying devotion exhibited by each of these in the particular relationship exalted here was inspired not by a sense of duty but by love. This is the renunciation with a positive content that Valmiki glorifies.

Be that as it may, I fancy that the *advocatus diaboli* would find little to urge against the claim that Sugriva was the perfect friend. The moment his eye alights on the two brothers he is all anxiety to ascertain whether they are शुद्धात्मानौ—well-intentioned. Hanuman tells them that Sugriva wants to be friends with them. When Lakshmana tells Hanuman that Rama looks upon Sugriva as *saranya*, Hanuman does not repeat this to Sugriva. He merely informs him that they are desirous of his friendship. And Sugriva, in his very first words to them, his mind freed from the besetting fear that they might be Vali's friends, tells them that he is honoured and flattered to find that they should wish to be friends with him, a mere *vanara*. And, forthwith, they pledge mutual friendship in the most solemn manner, neither mentioning an ulterior objective. The

question of mutual help is broached later. It is true that when, after the pact is sealed, Sugriva beseeches him,

कर्तुमर्हसि काकुत्स्थ भयं मे न भवेद्यथा। (*Kish.* 5.25).

Rama says with a simle that he knows friendship has a price (उपकारफलं मित्रम्). But it is noteworthy that after the great battle is over and they are all at Ayodhya for the coronation, Bharata, who has heard of Sugriva's heroic valour and self-denial, utters the *mot juste*: amending Rama's words he says, सौहृदाज्जायते मित्रं।

But that is to look far ahead. We are now at the beginning of this ideal friendship. Sugriva, though he was to be troubled later by doubts about Rama's ability to cope with Vali, expands like the lotus in the sun at the dawn of happy friendship. Nowhere has a more perfect litany to friendship been sung than in the following:

आढ्यो वाऽपि दरिद्रो वा दुःखितः सुखितोऽपि वा।
निर्दोषो वा सदोषो वा वयस्यः परमा गतिः॥
धनत्यागः सुखत्यागो देहत्यागोऽपि वा पुनः।
वयस्यार्थे प्रवर्तन्ते स्नेहं दृष्ट्वा तथाविधम्॥ (*Kish.* 8.8-9).

With Vāli gone, the crown secured and the long-denied comforts of family life restored, Sugriva seems to slide for a moment into the hedonism that forgets ideals. But only "seems". Even in his wildest abandon he has not forgotten what he owes to Rama. Lakshmana has spoken harshly out of ignorance:

न च संकुचितः पन्था येन वाली हतो गतः।
समये तिष्ठ सुग्रीव मा वालिपथमन्वगाः॥ (*Kish.* 30.81).

But Sugriva, who needs no such rude reminder, takes no offence:

यदि किञ्चिदतिक्रान्तं विश्वासात् प्रणयेन वा।
प्रेष्यस्य क्षमितव्यं मे न कश्चिन्नापराध्यति॥ (*Kish.* 36.11).

[Don't we hear there the echo of another great friend's apology, Arjuna's:

मया प्रमादात् प्रणयेन वापि हे कृष्ण हे यादव हे सखेति।]

With the impulsive gesture of his race he had discarded his *mada* with his *mālya* as he starts to meet Rama:

ततः कण्ठगतं माल्यं चित्रं बहुगुणं महत् ।
चिच्छेद विमदश्चासीत् सुग्रीवो वानरेश्वरः ॥ (*Kish.* 36.3).

And Rama when he meets him chides him, not for being forgetful of the duties of friendship, but for forgetting that Kingship is an arduous task:

धर्ममर्थं च कामं च काले यस्तु निषेवते ।
विभज्य सततं वीर स राजा हरिसत्तम ॥
हित्वा धर्मं तथार्थं च कामं यस्तु निषेवते ।
स वृक्षाग्रे यथा सुप्तः पतितः प्रतिबुद्ध्यते ॥ (*Kish.* 38.20-22).

From that moment till the day he takes leave of Raghava after the great coronation Sugriva knows no weakness, no self-indulgence. Rama, the friend, has become for him the incarnate Good for which no sacrifice is too small. The fates had deigned that he should not be friends with his brother. But they had reserved him for a higher destiny—to be adopted by Bharata into the brotherhood of the Dāsarathis.

If for a moment I may deviate into a topical reflection, Valmiki would seem to think that no differences of race, language or culture need inhibit that *maitri* which the world so sadly lacks to-day. On the other hand he looks upon it as the golden strand on which may be threaded the rich diversity of our human lot.

But true friendship can only be among those who respect the basic human virtues of kindliness and compassion. The friendship of Vāli and Ravana was based on ideology. The friendship of Sugriva and Rama was based on the fundamental decencies.

The Brothers

I spoke of the brothers. They live in a world of more intimate and complex relationships than the ties of friendship. There are a common heritage and a common responsibility. And there are forces enough in all conscience to queer the relations between the brothers. There is the world of *real-politik*—an old and uxorious king, a favourite younger queen who is सौभाग्यमदमोहिता and who, coming from distant Gāndhāra, perhaps does not feel bound by the Ikshvaku tradition; there are, besides, half-forgotten or wholly unacknowledged debilitating promises in the background. Inside this world Dasaratha

lives in a private world of his own, made up of hopes and fears. Then there is the world of the gods who make plans, not always for man's comfort. Beginning at the very beginning they tell Mahavishnu, not only that he should take human birth in order to kill Ravana, but that he should be born as four brothers. And all through the story they bob up in various and unpredictable ways. For a brief twenty-four hours they seem to have thrown Kaikeyi into a frenzy, so thoroughly at variance with her normal easy-going character. She is deflated by Bharata as suddenly as she is worked up by Manthara—the ज्ञातिदासी यतो जाता. The gods again intervene at the decisive moment to soften Bharata's resolve not to take a refusal from his brother. And they seem to be present in a more shadowy way as impulses in Rama's own mind that deflect the course of events—to mention only one, look at the way in which he gives Mārīcha the long rope.

Bharata

Apart from the complications introduced by these various external forces, there are the tensions inherent in the different temperaments of the brothers themselves. It is a different sort of tension—fruitful and fortunate for the world, because it is based on steadfast devotion to ideals, but not the less harrowing to their feelings because they cannot choose the easy way. The poet tells us very little of their early life together. He sends Bharata (along with the inseparable Satrughna) to distant Rājagriha for twelve long years. His reticence is full of suggestive shadows that give the story the solidity and depth of a 3-D film. He speaks of Bharata often thinking wistfully of his old father, but there is no mention of the mother. Her son's very first reference to her is uncomplimentary. It suggests that he did not like her haughty ways, her overbearing attitude to Kausalyā, which with his percipient mind he must have seen was causing much silent suffering to Rama. And he loved Rama, not as Lakshmana did with the possessive loyalty of a mother, but as one would a venerated exemplar and a pillar of strength.

The debate occasioned by the competition in righteousness (धर्मस्पर्धा) of the brothers is literally a treat for the gods. Both are equally strong-willed. And both are equally well grounded in the scriptures and in the principles of Rajadharma and Svadharma. It is Kaikeyi who pays tribute to Bharata's

steadfastness and dispassion as the result of study and meditation:

दानयज्ञाधिकारा हि शीलश्रुतिवचोनुगा ।
बुद्धिस्ते बुद्धिसंपन्न प्रभेवार्कस्य मन्दरे ॥ (*Ayo*. 72.25).

And Rama himself confirms this when, in replying to Vali, he points out that in Bharata Rajya there can be no toleration of Adharma:

भरतः कामवृत्तानां निग्रहे पर्यवस्थितः । (*Kish*. 18.25).

And Bharata knows of what metal his great brother is made,

न त्वां प्रव्यथयेद् दुःखं प्रीतिर्वा न प्रहर्षयेत् ।
संमतश्चासि वृद्धानां तांश्च पृच्छसि संशयम् ॥
यथा मृतस्तथा जीवन् यथा सति तथासति ।
यस्यैष बुद्धिलाभः स्यात् परितप्येत केन सः ॥ (*Ayo*. 106.3-4).

Deep calls to deep. Bharata sees Rama as the *sthitha-prajna* that he is. Understanding him so well he could not have expected any reply other than the one that Rama delivered with the finality of a judgment, after having listened carefully, as was his wont, to other points of view:

लक्ष्मीश्चन्द्रादपेयाद्वा हिमवान् वा हिमं त्यजेत् ।
अतीयात् सागरो वेलां न प्रतिज्ञामहं पितुः ॥
कामाद्वा तात लोभाद्वा मात्रा तुभ्यमिदं कृतम् ।
न तन्मनसि कर्तव्यं वर्तितव्यं च मातृवत् ॥ (*Ayo*. 112.18-19).

But the debate serves another purpose. It makes it plain to all the world not only that Bharata was sinless and Rama knew that he was. It reveals the moral climate in which the Ikshvakus lived. Kaikeyi had fouled it. And for that Bharata, who did not lack tenderness, could not forgive her. But Rama, whom he resembles so startlingly in fundamentals, will not tolerate this harshness towards his mother. He would not have Bharata's perfection sullied by the slightest flaw.

Rama's Philosophy

But there are other reasons as well for his insistence that Bharata should cease girding at his mother. They are grounded in the metaphysical view of things which is all Rama's own. It is in this metaphysic that we have to look for Rama's uniqueness, his quiddity as the Schoolmen would say.

"*Maranāntāni Vairāni,*" is one of Rama's favourite sayings; not learnt by rote, but born of a profound understanding of life. Evil must not be tolerated, else it will breed. But the doer of evil is often a passive instrument in the hands of Destiny or of his own wayward impulses. Punished he must be, but not pursued vindictively. Vindictiveness, far from purging, can only make for a chain reaction, an *anarthaparampara*. So Rama punishes because he must: हन्त्येव नियमाद्वध्यान् । But there is pity[3] in his heart—for Kaikeyi, for Vāli and even for Rāvana; not condescension, mind you, but the compassion of a brother for a fallen brother. ममाप्येष यथा तव was no rhetorical flourish; it has the grand simplicity of truth.

It was this unaffected sympathy that made him the idol of the Ayodhyavāsis. But with that sympathy went a rare detachment. The poet says he was one who knew his own faults as well as the faults of others: स्वदोषपरदोषवित्. Though he knew his father was as wax in the hands of Kaikeyi, he would not make that an excuse for resiling from his own duty to his father. The revelation of Kaikeyi's greed had been something of a shock, though not her overbearing contempt for Kausalyā and Sumitrā. With a nature so deeply loving as his, the realisation that her fondness for him had all

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3. An example of needless cruelty in the doing of one's duty is provided by the Ramayana account of the digging of the ocean by Sagara's sons. As a case of duty done even at the cost of one's life Rama himself cites the example of Sagara's sons;

अस्माकं च कुले पूर्वं सगरस्याज्ञया पितुः ।
खनद्भिः सागरैः भूमिम् अवाप्तः सुमहान् वधः ॥ (*Ayo.* 11.32).

In the process of doing their duty loyally by their father they killed and maimed thousands of living creatures purposelessly and without compassion. They thus brought on themselves the wrath of Kapila.

But, says the wise Garuda, their uncle, it was all fore-ordained—their death as well as the descent of Ganga. Thus even the evil impulses in men's minds are harnessed to the divine purpose. And, great as was their transgression, no less great was the reward of their *pitr-bhakti.*

The poet gives Sagara and his sons a special place in his history of the *Ikshvakus* as if to suggest that the seed of filial piety thus sown in the muck of human passions was in time to bear the fine flower that was Ramachandra.

been on the surface had left a wound; and that may explain, even if (to the hypercritical) it may not exculpate his occasional harsh references to her in later contexts. But what he says in condemnation of her is not unfair.[4] A woman who could threaten to kill herself if her unreasonable wish were not granted and who knew that by her persistence she was driving the old king to his grave was quite capable of destroying her hated rivals (अपि न च्यावयेत् प्राणान् is the harshest thing that Rama says of her).

But the notable thing is, not that Rama occasionally loses his self-control but that he almost always acts as the *Jnāni* that Bharata, with his insight, knows him to be. When, in a mood of frustration or despair, he is assailed by an uncharitable thought, he loyally struggles to put it out of his mind. He seems even capricious when he chides Lakshmana with unnecessary vehemence for strong words used against Kaikeyi, which are not however stronger than his own.[5] But this is

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4. The poet, rather intriguingly, introduces Rama's long bewailing in *Ayodh.* 53 with the description शुभाः कथाः ('auspicious converse'); though he adds at the end that Rama's eyes were full of tears and he was दीन, a mood totally foreign to him. Contrast this with the characterisation of Sumantra's wrath against Kaikeyi: संतापमशुभं गतः ।

5. Compare Rama's tirade against Kaikeyi in Sarga 53 of the Ayodhya Kanda with the much milder remarks of Lakshmana in Aranya Kanda, 16th Sarga. But Rama interrupts him, saying that he would rather listen to the praise of Bharata than the denunciation of Kaikeyi:

तामेवेक्ष्वाकुनाथस्य भरतस्य कथां कुरु । (*Aran.* 16.37).

Even more suggestive in its own way is perhaps the fact, which does not seem to have been remarked upon, that Jābāli, in preaching hedonism, seems to take his cue from certain sentiments uttered by Rama himself. In telling Bharata that one must not give way to unavailing grief Rama points out that man comes alone into the world and goes out of it alone and must therefore not place too much importance on the relationships and attachments formed during his brief sojourn here. Starting from the same premises and using the same similes Jābāli comes to a very different conclusion. And in putting an apologia into his mouth—he says he was a *nāstika* for the nonce and may have to revert to the role

not really inconsistency. It is a transparent attempt to veil what is really a mood of self-reproach. Thus, having jested with Sūrpanakhā and all unwittingly inflamed her passions, he falls foul of poor Lakshmana who has merely followed him, and tells him that one must not jest with boors like that woman. It is really his own apology.

Lakshmana

Incidentally, this episode is a reminder to us that Lakshmana is, to Rama, so inseparably a part of himself (प्राणो बहिश्चरः) that the idea of adopting a judicial attitude towards him does not occur to him. Lakshmana had said that he had become the slave of his brother's good qualities:

गुणैर्दास्यमुपागतः । (*Kish.* 4.12).

But for Rama he was no *dāsa*. He was the beloved disciple, the son on whom he lavished an affection which it is doubtful whether Kusa and Lava ever got, the brother who could take the place of the adored father and—dare we say it?—the counsellor who keeps him, Rama, on even keel when for a moment his Meru-like constancy (स्थैर्यं) seems to desert him. When, distracted by Sita's loss Rama says he will destroy the universe, Lakshmana beseeches him:

पुरा भूत्वा मृदुर्दान्तः सर्वभूतहिते रतः ।
न क्रोधवशमापन्नः प्रकृतिं हातुमर्हसि ॥ (*Aran.* 65.4).

And Rama saw the sense of those well-spoken words:

सारग्राही महासारं प्रतिजग्राह राघवः ॥ (*Aran.* 67.1).

Lakshmana is in fact the whetstone of Rama's most intimate *ātma-gunas.* Of Lakshmana as of Sita he expects a standard of conduct, a level of performance which far transcends our human capacities. But that was a measure of his illimitable love. Sita, whom Rama assures,

न विहातुं मया शक्या कीर्तिरात्मवता यथा । (*Ayo.* 30.29),

tells Hanuman, making royal amends to the absent Lakshmana, that there is one whom Rama loves even better:

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again if circumstances should demand it—the poet would seem to suggest that the influence of Time (Kala)—part of the spiritual continuum in which man lives—is ineluctable and incalculable and so powerful as to constrain even the tallest at times to falter. Rama too, though rarely, loses his divine recollectedness (दैवी स्मृति).

मत्तः प्रियतरो नित्यं भ्राता रामस्य लक्ष्मणः । (*Sun*. 38.62).

Slight exaggeration, perhaps—but imagine what it is to have had Rama's love next only to Sita.

Lakshmana is not so much a foil to Rama as the mirror of one side of his character, as Bharata is of another. He is the active element, as Bharata is the contemplative. And in Rama the two are miraculously matched, producing heavenly harmony. Rama is the complete man. All of us, encaged in our imperfections, find it difficult to take him in whole and entire: there seem to be spots in the sun, but perhaps they are spots on your retina. But this much is certain that it is the Visvāmitras and the Vasishthas, the Sutīkshnas and the Agastyas, the men who have conquered *rāga* and *dvesha*, that see him in the round and have an integral apprehension of him. And there is one other equal to them in every way, I mean Hanuman; but of him more later.

Is it possible to be as detached as Rama was, towards those one loves so wholly as he did Sita and Lakshmana? It was not difficult for him, because he profoundly respected their individuality. Valmiki describes the union of hearts of the divine couple in immortal words:

अन्तर्गतमभिव्यक्तम् आख्याति हृदयं हृदा । (*Bala* 77.22).

And yet Rama tells Sita that if he hesitated to take her to the forest it was because he wished to ascertain and respect her real wishes:

तव सर्वमभिप्रायमविज्ञाय शुभानने ।
वासं न रोचयेऽरण्ये शक्तिमानपि रक्षणे ॥ (*Ayo*. 30.28).

Likewise, when at the coronation Rama presses Lakshmana to share the kingly responsibilities and Lakshmana, anchored in serenity, declines, the brother who could get him to do anything he liked, does not constrain him.

And Rama carries his detachment to its logical conclusion. The giving up of such a wife and such a brother comes as the climax of a career of deliberate renunciation—not in the spirit of a world-denying anchorite but as one who means well by the world—सर्वभूतहिते रतः । He loved life well but loved *satya* more (सत्यमिष्टं हि मे सदा) and he lived the *dharma* in which *satya* found fulfilment. Sri Rama may or may not have been

conscious of his divinity—I will not be lured into that endless discussion. But there is no doubt that he looked upon himself as a *Dharma-pratishthāpaka.* It is not, however, a new gospel or way of life that he propounds. It is the *Philosophia perennis,* to give it a name that has been made recently popular by Western thinkers; to give it its indigenous name, it is the Sanātana Dharma.

Ravana

The world had, even in those days, resiled from it in various degrees, thanks to the mutations of Time. But it was Ravana that was out to destroy it, with the zeal of an apostate. He was one who had been cradled in that Dharma. He had achieved an iron self-control thanks to the discipline imposed by that Dharma. But it was all directed towards an end, Power. Ravana represents that hypertrophy of the will which history has made us familiar with in a series of scourges from Attila to Hitler. His attitude towards *tapas* was the attitude towards science of the Governments engaged in the feverish competition for Hydrogen and Nitrogen bombs. It did not give him a set of values to hold by. Instead it strengthened his innate tendency to repudiate the values of the *dhārmic* society. Indeed he took a perverse delight in standing every one of those values on its head. He tells Mārīcha that he comes to him, not for advice, but for implicit obedience. From this he goes on to enlarge on the glory of Kings, which according to him makes servility to them the utmost duty of ministers. He must get Sita at all costs, and so he has no difficulty in persuading himself that Rama is a low, despicable fellow:

यस्त्यक्त्वा सुहृदो राज्यं मातरं पितरं तथा ।
स्त्रीवाक्यं प्राकृतं श्रुत्वा वनमेकपदे गतः ॥ (*Aran.* 40.5).

Truth is thus the first casualty and Mārīcha the intended second. Ravana goes his own wilful way to the very end. And when his grand-uncle protests, he replies with the petulance of a spoilt child:

द्विधा भज्येयमप्येवं न नमेयं तु कस्यचित् ।
एष मे सहजो दोषः स्वभावो दुरतिक्रमः ॥ (*Yuddha* 36.11).

He thinks that by calling stupid obstinacy a congenital defect he has disposed of it. Sita's exhortation to him to follow his Svadharma (नाहमौपयिकी भार्या स्वजने क्रियतां मनः) falls on deaf ears; instead of cleaving to *sva-dharma* he hugs his *sva-*

adharma, his own besetting sin of pride. And because pride,—pride of possession, pride of power, pride of glory—springs from an inner insufficiency, there is a spiritual vacuum in him which makes him restless for assurance. And Sita, (देवमायेव निर्मिता) seems to him the one thing lacking that would make his felicity complete.

Rama saw that it would not be sufficient to free the world from Ravana. After all he was but an advanced case of the prevailing malaise. Kaikeyi had coveted a kingdom; Vali had coveted his brother's inheritance; the inhabitants of Lanka, including the *devakanyas* whom Ravana had taken into his harem, found nothing wrong in the organisation of Ravana-Rajya on the basis of *adharma*: they were, like most of us, creatures of use and wont. And in Rama's own Ayodhya there were the gossips who could tear Sita's reputation to tatters. If the tendency to greed and possessiveness were not rooted out, if men could not be given a positive ideal to replace the will-o'-the wisps these deluded people followed, the mere killing of Ravana would leave the world very much where it was. So Rama, in pursuing his objective of killing Ravana, does not forget the distant goal. He has no use for short-cuts, for compromises with truth. And it is his business to persuade the world that it must have none either.

The peerless वीर who is accused of imperialistic adventures by our latter-day moralists would not take even a glass of water from Guha; would not so much as set foot inside Kishkindhā or Lankā. It did not occur to him to ask even for a lift in the Pushpaka as far as Ayodhyā. The bump of acquisitiveness was not developed in him at all. Ravana in fact thought him, the wanderer in the forest, so little attached to life that he remarked to Sita rather contemptuously:

शङ्के जीवति वा न वा ।

Sita.

Ravana did not underrate the loss that Rama had suffered in losing Sita. And Hanuman, no mean judge of *mahat sattva*, could only marvel that Rama had survived that shock. They were made for each other, he says. And nothing shows the poet's perception so much as that he should have described Sita as the unbought grace that made duty a delight.

Age does not wither nor custom stale her infinite variety. She is nature's darling—Ayōnijā—schooled in the decencies.

She is also the dancing flame on the horizon of the imagination, that makes *blase* hearts leap. Her mother has instructed her in the proprieties. The sages have promised happy issue from her fruitful loins. And a chance soothsayer visiting her father's court had foretold a term in the forest life. Nothing could content her more—she has not only the beauty of the pard but also its singleness of mood. She is so happily constituted that in obeying the behests of her heart she cannot go wrong. She is simple and confiding, so much so even Ravana has not the heart to keep up his deception. And because she loves with her whole being, Mārīcha's false alarm is to her distracted ears the sound of the last trump. Blindly she lets fly at poor Lakshmana; and how little she believes her own indictment is shown by the reckless way she ropes in Bharata also as an accessory before the fact.

सुदुष्टस्त्वं वने रामम् एकमेकोऽनुगच्छसि ।
मम हेतोः प्रतिच्छन्नः प्रयुक्तो भरतेन वा ॥ (*Aran.* 45.24).

Her mind thrown off its hinges momentarily, she lapses into the mass emotion expressed in the idiom of her age:

न तच्चित्रं सपत्नेषु पापं लक्ष्मण यद्भवेत् । (*Aran.* 45.23).

But how magnificently she makes reparation! Hardly five minutes later Ravana in ascetic garb presents himself and, with the obtuseness of the arrogant, imagines that he is flattering her by using language that harrows her chaste ears. She is repelled but fears to offend a Brahman and a guest. She tells him her story simply and in doing so she pays tribute to Lakshmana in language which is conclusive proof that her explosion of temper had been merely the buffeting of an agonised mind:

स भ्राता लक्ष्मणो नाम धर्मचारी दृढव्रतः ।
अन्वगच्छद् धनुष्पाणिः प्रव्रजन्तं मया सह ॥ (*Aran.* 47.19-20).

And when long after, in her captivity, a ray of hope comes with the advent of Hanuman, her heart is irradiated with gratitude thinking of the happy days in the forest and Lakshmana's unobtrusive devotion. There comes a note of maternal tenderness, of unavailing regret into her voice as she bursts into a splendid eulogy of Lakshmana. With consummate tact the poet puts into her mouth eight slokas in praise

of Lakshmana when she charges Hanuman to remember her to him, while her simple heart-cry to Rama is discharged in one:

> कौसल्या लोकभर्तारं सुषुवे यं मनस्विनी ।
> तं ममार्थे सुखं पृच्छ शिरसा चाभिवादय ॥
> स्रजश्च सर्वरत्नानि प्रिया याश्च वराङ्गनाः ।
> * * *
> मृदुर्नित्यं शुचिर्दक्षः प्रियो रामस्य लक्ष्मणः ॥
>
> (*Sundara*, 38.56-64).

मातृवन्मां समाचरन्—she says,—"he behaved to me as he would to his own mother." And which mother could ever harbour uncharity in her heart and that, too, against such a son?

It is her impulsiveness that gilds the edge of her goodness for us. Alone with Rama, lover and spouse, protector and comforter, we see her coruscating like a many-faceted gem in the level light of his calm affection, which Hanuman later analyses with the power of divination born of sympathy.

> इयं सा यत्कृते रामः चतुर्भिः परितप्यते ।
> कारुण्येनानृशंस्येन शोकेन मदनेन च ॥
> स्त्री प्रणष्टेति कारुण्याद् आश्रितेत्यानृशंस्यतः ।
> पत्नी नष्टेति शोकेन प्रियेति मदनेन च ॥
>
> (*Sundara*, 15.49-50)

She rejoices in the thought that Rama will be Yuvaraja, ruling over the kingdom of the high-minded (राज्यं द्विजातिभिर्जुष्टम्) and leading a life dedicated to the service of the gods:

> दीक्षितं व्रतसंपन्नं वराजिनधरं शुचिम् ।
> कुरङ्गशृङ्गपाणिं च पश्यन्ती त्वां भजाम्यहम् ॥ (*Ayo*. 16.23).

But the loss of the promised kingdom does not cause her a moment's regret. She is frightened only by his unusual depression:

> अपूर्वो मुखवर्णश्च न प्रहर्षश्च लक्ष्यते । (*Ayo*. 28.18).

And when the cause comes out, and she finds that Rama wants her to stay at home while he goes to the forest, her misgiving turns into friendly chiding. She cannot imagine living away from him for a moment. Gibes and tears, pleadings and protestations, the voice of duty, the petulance of wounded

affection and the despairing cry of the heart, they all come tumbling down with the impatience of the mountain torrent caught up among the impeding rocks. And then the appeal to his magnanimity which Rama could never resist:

भक्तां पतिव्रतां दीनां मां समां सुखदुःखयोः ।
नेतुमर्हसि काकुत्स्थ समानसुखदुःखिनीम् ॥ (*Ayo.* 29.20).

The tempest is stilled by the wave of Prospero's wand:

न विहातुं मया शक्या कीर्तिरात्मवता यथा । (*Ayo.* 30.29).

says Rama. And off she goes joyously to give away her all, finding in renunciation a simple delight.

To Kausalyā and Dasaratha she speaks with the comforting assurance of the deferential daughter-in-law instructed in Dharma. To Anasūyā she prattles with the artless innocence of the *mugdhā*. The *rishi-patni* seasoned in austerity, living for the good of mankind, looks at Sita with the delighted fascination with which one watches the bud blossom. Sita's humility as she thinks of her supreme good fortune in having been accepted by Ramachandra is as precious balsam to the heart of that dame of immemorial age with her connoisseur's eye for *pātivratya*. The unfading *anga-rāga* and the resplendant jewels she bestows on her in appreciation are the *strīdhana* from mother to daughter. What more could woman desire than to be approved of Arundhati and Anasūyā?

Sharing her unaffected joy in the simple life, her gaiety as of a doe among its kind, Sri Rama found that forest-life, which might have been otherwise irksome to him, was really a joy with her: वनवासो महोदयः. In the few but precious sargas in which the idyllic life of the hermitage at Panchavati is described Valmiki pours out the poetry of nostalgia with a lavish hand. Accustomed as we are to see Sita as Our Lady of Sorrows, the pictures of this sylvan paradise and of the other days at Ayodhya where she had lived as a well-beloved Princess—

भुञ्जाना मानुषान् भोगान् सर्वकामसमृद्धिनी । (*Aran.* 47.4).

as she herself says,—recall another tragic and romantic figure, Indumati. Kalidasa in his tribute to her excellence was obviously profiting by the hints and suggestions of the older poet, when he said:

गृहिणी सचिवः सखी मिथः प्रियशिष्या ललिते कलाविधौ ।

(*R. V.* VIII.67).

Soon, all too soon, the shadows come crowding thick upon Sita: she speaks the truth when she calls herself दुःखमूर्ति. But she is so sure of Rama's love that nothing else seems to matter. She lives in hope:

एति जीवन्तमानन्दो नरं वर्षशतादपि । (*Sun.* 34.6).

And her misfortunes have not soured her. She speaks with the blunt straightforwardness of the uncompromising upholder of *dharma* to Ravana. But while she chastises the sin, she has pity for the sinner. "Is there no good man here to keep you on the straight and narrow path?" she asks. And she tells him it is not too late to make his submission to Sri Rama. See how heart speaks to heart. Rama had proclaimed in the great Council (though Sita did not know it) that, supposing it was Ravana himself who sought refuge with him, why, he should be accepted without question and his sins forgiven.

Kingly renunciation

The world has been much exercised over the severity—so out of character, seemingly—that Rama showed to Sita redeemed from captivity. Supposing Ravana had surrendered, it is asked by those who are wedded to the discursive intellect, would Rama, who had forgiven Ravana, have still refused to take back Sita? It is no use asking hypothetical questions. In Ravana's case *svabhāva* won. He would not throw himself open to the inundation of Grace, and the Divine compassion could only release him by death from the hard shell of his ego. But the death of Ravana could make no difference to the fate of Sita. The gossips would talk (as they were to go on talking to the end of the chapter). And in an organic society there can be no double standards, no arbitrary separation of the public from the private life. Bharata told himself that Kaikeyi had no doubt succeeded in driving Rama to the forest, but her ambition to have her son crowned should not be fulfilled. Even so Rama told himself that evil tongues might make life gall and wormwood to him and Sita; but they should not gloat over the dissolution of the *dhārmic* society. Had not Sita pledged herself to be his सहधर्मचारिणी? They must drink the bitter cup to the lees.

Thus Rama was a King to the last, every inch a King, pursuing *svadharma* as the key to that *yasas* for which like a true *kshatriya* he lived:

मन्यते परया कीर्त्या महत्स्वर्गफलं हि तत् । (*Ayo.* 1.16).

Valmiki was writing a heroic poem. There are fashions in chivalry, but the man of honour, the knight without stain and without reproach, is a persistent type. In representing Rama in this role the poet makes him adopt the manner and the mannerisms of this class in his time. But Valmiki's Rama is far more than the *honnete homme* of convention. It was Hanuman, the *nitya-siddha*[6], who discovered his inner truth and unity. The one character in the epic who had no doubts about him and no fears for him had seen him with the direct gaze of the mystic. And, like the saint who hungers to give God his love, all he asks of Rama is that the flame of his Rama-bhakti shall never burn low. Valmiki makes us see Rama and Sita from many angles. But our most authentic picture of them is derived through the eyes of Hanuman. He has enshrined them in his heart as one and inseparable and as eternally present. And, if he could speak to our hearts, he might tell us that the *yasas* which Rama pursued with such single-minded devotion was not the *kshatriya* ideal of honour but the splendour of his own Self, the अमीमांस्य आत्मा—the self-existent Narayana of whom the Sruti says:

तस्य नाम महद्यशः ।

6. I have developed this thought elsewhere. Those who are curious may find it in a paper on "Sri Ramakrishna, Master of the Mystic ways," published in the *Vedanta Kesari*.

SANSKRIT STUDIES IN SOUTH INDIA*

BY

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I am deeply grateful to the Secretaries and other members of the Governing Body of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute for associating me with this evening's function. It is a high honour that they have shown me in asking me to address you to-day under so distinguished a presidency and on the occasion of such a notable function as the celebration of the Ninth Foundation Day of this Research Institute named after the late Kuppuswami Sastriar. Though I have not had the pleasure and privilege of sitting at his feet and taking my lessons as some of my friends have had, I know he was one of the most profound scholars in Sanskrit, Philosophy and Comparative Philology. His scholarship was the result of a unique combination of the twin methods of study, oriental and occidental. He brought to bear on his erudition picked up patiently from learned pandits the scientific and critical methods of the west. As a teacher for about 35 years he exercised great influence over the study of Sanskrit in this part of the country. Quite in keeping with the ideals for which he stood and the objects of the foundation of this Research Institute I hope I may take up for this evening's talk SANSKRIT STUDIES IN SOUTH INDIA.

An investigation into the history of a subject like Sanskrit studies in a particular area will be of help not only to build up a connected history of the literature of the region but also to supply useful materials for a study of its cultural history. No one will underrate the importance attached to the study of Sanskrit from very early times in South India and the contributions made to it by her. At the same time it is also true that what has been done for Sanskrit studies in South India has not received the attention that it deserves at the hands of Sanskrit scholars in general.

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* A lecture delivered at the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute on the occasion of the celebration of its Ninth Foundation Day on 14th September, 1953.

The Sanskrit language must have infiltrated into South India centuries before the dawn of the Christian era. If the traditions and legends connected with the *Pitcher sage* Agastya have any significance, they perhaps vaguely hint the spread of Sanskritic culture and institutions in South India. For this event it is hard to give any definite date, but the general opinion among scholars is that it could have taken place about the eighth century B.C. Many scholars who are versed both in Sanskrit and Tamil literature see the influence of the former on the *Tolkāppiyam*, the earliest known Tamil work. In that work, for instance, we have some conventionalised descriptions and popular notions which are found in the *Atharvaveda* also. I shall cite only one example. In the *Atharvaveda* is found a sleeping charm, which says: "May the mother sleep, may the eldest in the house sleep, may her relatives sleep, may all the people round about sleep", and it was obviously employed by a lover who wanted to steal to his sweetheart. We find an echo of this charm in Ilampūraṇar's commentary on *Poruḷ* 109 of the *Tolkāppiyam* wherein he says that the hindrances to secret meetings of lovers consisted of the rise of the moon, the coming of the town guards, the mother being awake, etc. Here in this parallel is a clue for us, though it is only indirect, to evidence the spread of knowledge of Sanskrit lore in South India even before the commencement of the Christian era.

The cultivation of Sanskrit studies in South India well enough in the early centuries of the Christian era is borne out by the existence of some known centres of Sanskrit learning in it. If Madurai was a great centre of Tamil learning with a Tamil Śangam patronised by the Tamil kings, Kāñcī had become by the fourth century A.D. a recognised centre of higher learning in Sanskrit. Many appear to have gone to Kāñcī to quench their thirst for knowledge and learning of Sanskrit. We are told in the Tālguṇḍa inscription of the Kadamba king Kākutsthavarman of about the middle of the sixth century A.D. that Mayūraśarman, one of the early members of the family (A.D. 345-370), after a good education, went to Kāñcī along with his guru Vīraśarman to complete his Vedic studies and entered the *ghaṭikā* to master the Veda. The inscription shows that Kāñcī was an important centre of higher learning to which even those that had already had good education went for acquiring more proficiency in it. It was therefore no exaggeration when the Śaiva saint Appar referred

to Kāñcī as *கல்வியிற் கரையிலாத காஞ்சிமா நகர்.* The *ghaṭikā* appears to have been a corporation of *dvijas* and an institution that attracted a number of scholars from outside and was controlled by the kings. Mention is made of it in later times also, which shows that it had a continuous history. As a corporation of *dvijas*, probably it had some part in the Government of the country, as may be inferred from its participation in the selection and coronation of one of the Pallava kings Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The number of scholars studying in the institution was large. References are fouud to the *ghaṭikās* in some other places also in South India in the period of the Pallavas as also in the subsequent period. There was one at Ghaṭikācala (Sholinghur—North Arcot Dist.). A *ghaṭikā* probably of the type of the Pallava period is mentioned at Vēmbaṟṟūr (Tanjore Dist.,) another at Tirukkachchiyūr (Chingleput Dist.) and a third at Nāgai, all in the Cōḷa period. Of them the last had provision for 200 Vedic students and 50 students of the Śāstras. It was in charge of six teachers and a Librarian. There were a number of *ghaṭikāsthānas* in the Karṇāṭaka country also.

There was a big *Vidyāsthāna* at Bāhūr on the way between Pondicherry and Cuddalore in the South Arcot District. It was a residential College mainly intended for the Brahmans and consisted of 14 *gaṇas*. It was controlled, organised and maintained by the learned of the village. The subjects taught were the four Vedas, the *Vedāṅgas*, the *Purāṇas*, the *Mīmāṁsā* and the *Nyāya* systems of philosophy and the *Dharmaśāstras*. The College had an endowment of three villages, the revenues from which were enjoyed by its residents.

There were also other types of Sanskrit educational institutions. In those days individual learned scholars gathered round themselves numerous students and imparted to them free education, for which they were granted endowments known as *bhaṭṭavṛttis*. Another method of encouragement of Sanskrit learning during the period was by the grant of *agrahāras* generally to groups of Brahmans learned in the Vedic lore. The temple was another agency for the spread of Sanskrit learning among the people. Provision was made in it for the reading and exposition of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and other popular religious literature like the Purāṇas.

The Çōḷa period in the history of South India, after that of the Pallavas, was an important one from the point of view

of the literary history of the country. Organised educational institutions of a varied nature were then maintained and made to serve the cause of higher learning in South India. There were in existence a number of institutions for the dissemination of higher Sanskrit learning, which through a large number of teachers who were specialists in their own way, provided instruction to hundreds of pupils. It is unfortunate that we have no accounts of these mediaeval Colleges by contemporary chroniclers like I-tsing who has given us a vivid and detailed account of the University of Nālanda, for instance. But we gather a good lot of useful information about the working of these educational institutions from contemporary inscriptions, most of which belong to the eleventh century. During the days of Rājēndra I (A.D. 1014-44) the *sabhā* of Rājarāja Caturvedimangalam (Eṇṇāyiram in the South Arcot District) made provision in accordance with the terms of an order made by the king himself for the running of a College which included the feeding of pupils and the remuneration of teachers in it. From the details contained in the inscription one is able to form an idea about the total number of students studying various subjects taught in the institution and the strength and salaries of the teaching staff in it. Provision was made for 340 students, 270 juniors and 70 seniors, and a teaching staff of 14 persons. Among the junior students (*Brahmacāris*) 40 studied the elements of grammar according to the *Rūpāvatāra* and the rest were learning the Vedas by rote, 75 devoting themselves to each of the Ṛg and Yajurvedas, twenty to each of the *Vājasaneya* and the *Chāndoga* and the *Talavakāra sāmas,* ten to the *Atharvaveda* and the remaining ten to the *Baudhāyana Gṛhya, Kalpa* and *Gaṇa.* Each of the junior pupils was allowed six *nāḻis* (measures) of paddy per diem. The seventy senior pupils (*śāttira*) had an allowance of ten *nāḻis* each and were studying three advanced subjects, *Vyākaraṇa* 25, *Prābhākara Mīmāmsā* 35 and *Vedānta* 10. It will be of interest to note certain details here. While provision was made for the study of four Vedas, there was provision for the study of only one *sūtra* of the Ṛg Veda. The *Rūpāvatāra* which was something like a beginner's manual for the study of *Vyākaraṇa* had become well established probably even by that time and formed part of the curriculum of studies in institutions designed for imparting instruction in higher Sanskrit. Likewise the *Mīmāmsā* of Prābhākara was taught in it,

probably in preference to that of the *Bhaṭṭa* school. The College appears to have been a Vaiṣṇava institution and *Vedānta* of the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* school was one of the subjects of study long before the coming into vogue of the *Bhāṣya* of Rāmānuja. The remuneration for the teachers varied from person to person. The Professor of *Vedānta* received the highest which consisted of a daily allowance of a *kalam* and a third. The *nambis* who taught *Mīmāmsā* and *Vyākaraṇa* came next and got one *kalam* each. The others, who were probably junior teachers were on one level and got each three *kuṛuṇis* (¼ of a *kalam*) per diem. Besides these daily allowances of grain, the teachers and the *śāttiras* (senior pupils) except the Professor of *Vedānta* got other allowances in gold at the rate of one *kaḷañju* (about 80 grains) per *adhyāya* taught in *Vyākaraṇa* and *Mīmāmsā*. They were entitled to eight *kaḷañjus* and twelve *kaḷañjus* respectively for a whole course and a half *kaḷañju* per head per annum for all the rest. It is not known why the Professor of *Vedānta* alone did not receive the extra allowance in gold. Obviously it was due to the fact that law and custom prohibited the making of money by teaching *Vedānta*.

Reference was made earlier to a College at Bāhūr near Pondicherry in which the *caturdaśavidyās* were taught during the days of the Pallavas. It is not known how long the College continued to serve the cause of higher Sanskrit learning in South India. Probably it had become defunct by the tenth or eleventh century; but according to an inscription of A.D. 1048 of the time of Rājādhirāja at a place called Tribhuvani, not far away from Bāhūr, there flourished a Sanskrit College which imparted instruction in various subjects. It was slightly smaller than the College at Eṇṇāyiram and had 260 pupils and 12 teachers. There were no great differences between it and the one at Eṇṇāyiram with regard to the courses of study. The *Prābhākara Mīmāmsā* is not, however, mentioned as one of the subjects taught. But new ones are mentioned such as the *Satyāṣāḍha sūtras* besides the *Bhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Manuśāstra* and *Vaikhānasa śāstra*. Apparently, the subjects other than the first were expounded to popular audiences, probably in a scheme of what we call now extension lectures. The students and the teachers were recipients of daily allowances in grain. The junior students were allowed six

measures each, while the seniors were given eight. Among the teachers, the Professor of *Vedānta*, who appears to have received always special treatment, got a *kalam* and a sixth, while the others received allowances which varied from a *kalam* to a fourth of it. According to the inscription, the teachers and students of the College were exempted from active service on the Committees of the village assembly in accordance with a resolution of the *sabhā* of the place. Probably the idea was that the pursuit of learning should not be disturbed by the teachers and students being obliged to take active part in local administration. The information must be of much interest to those who now discuss whether teachers and students may actively participate in politics.

An important inscription at Tirummukkūḍal dated A.D. 1067 contains very interesting details of the entire budget of receipts and expenses of the local Viṣṇu temple. The items of expenditure included provision for a College and a Hospital. The Vedic College had provision for the teaching of the Ṛg and Yajurvedas as also *Vyākaraṇa* and *Rūpāvatāra*. The teachers who taught the two Vedas received annually 60 *kalams* of paddy and 4 *kāśus* each, while the *Bhaṭṭa* who expounded *Vyākaraṇa* and *Rūpāvatāra* got annually 120 *kalams* of paddy and 10 *kāśus*, a little more than what the two Vedic teachers together got. A point worthy of note here is that, while in the Eṇṇāyiram College there were two teachers, one for *Vyākaraṇa* and the other for *Rūpāvatāra*, there was only one teacher in the Tirummukkūḍal College. The Hostel attached to the College fed daily 60 persons consisting of 10 Brahmans who studied the Ṛgveda, 10 Brahmans who studied the Yajurveda, twenty Brahmans and students who studied the *Vyākaraṇa* and *Rūpāvatāra*, and ten *Māhapāñcarātras*, three *Śiva Brāhmaṇas*, five *Vaikhānasas* and two of another class, the name of which is unfortunately lost in the inscription. From the fact that the hostel fed a number of these *Māhapāñcarātras*, *Śiva Brāhmaṇas* and *Vaikhānasas* it may be reasonably inferred that the *āgamas* were also taught in the College. The pupils were provided with food on the basis of 1½ *nāḻis* of rice per day and suitable dishes as also with mats for sleeping and oil for lamps and bathing on 51 Saturdays of the year. The total expenses in the hostel including the wages for the cooks and maid-servants who looked after the menial service to the teachers and the

students came to 1642 *kalams* and 6 *kuruṇis* of paddy and 37 5/8 *kāśus*.

Besides such large educational institutions for higher Sanskrit learning, there were many sylvan abodes of learning each centering round a teacher. Such teachers were maintained by endowments made for that purpose. An inscription at Uttaramērūr (Chingleput District) of the time of Rājēndra Cōḷa I mentions a gift of land as *paviḻiya-kiḍaippuṟaṁ* and stipulates that the men who enjoyed the income from it should live in the village and teach the Ṛgveda. Another inscription about the same time records the gift of a piece of land as *Taittirīyakiḍaippuṟam*, *i.e.*, for teaching students of the *Taittirīyaśākhā*. According to an inscription at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr of the time of Kulōttuṅga III, provision was made for the maintenance of a pavilion called *Vyākaraṇadāna vyākhyāna maṇḍapa* in the temple at the place for the maintenance of the teachers and the pupils who studied grammar there as also for the worship of the God Vyākaraṇadāna Perumāḷ (*i. e.*, Śiva) who, it is said in the inscription, was pleased to appear before Pāṇini Bhagavān in that very *maṇḍapa* for 14 continuous days and to teach him the first 14 basic aphorisms (*Māheśvara sūtras*) with which begins Pāṇini's grammar. The historic *maṇḍapa* continued to serve as a College for such study of *Vyākaraṇa* even later; and Jaṭāvarmaṅ Sundara Pāṇḍya III made a grant of some taxes to it for its maintenance. Evidence is not wanting to show that scholars who were expounding the *Mahābhārata*, *Somasiddhānta* and *Prābhākara Mīmāmsā* were maintained by gifts of land.

Maṭhas had come into existence by the time of the Cōḷas and they also served to promote Sanskritic studies. One such was at Tiruvāḍuturai in the Tanjore District which made provision in A.D. 1121 for the free feeding of pupils studying subjects like grammar and medicine. In A.D. 1229 provision was made for the free feeding at the *maṭha* in Tiruvaḍakaḷi of Brahman students of *Vedānta* from the Malayalam country. Individual scholars were also honoured with several endowments in recognition of their merit and distinction.

The next important historical period, the Vijayanagar period, was a remarkable one in the history of South India characterised by an outburst of intense literary and religious activity beginning from the days of Vidyāraṇya, Sāyaṇācārya

and Vedānta Deśika; and Hinduism gained no small strength to itself during the period. Sanskritic studies, like the vernaculars, received great encouragement at the hands of the rulers, many of whom were themselves scholars. But not much is known about the existence of large educational institutions endowed by the kings for the purpose. Probably organised education was largely carried on by private enterprise. The kings occasionally made endowments for starting and running Colleges for Sanskrit learning. The polyhistor Appayya Dīkṣita, for instance, induced Cinna Bommu Nāyaka of Vellore to make grants of gold and *agrahāra* villages to the 500 learned men who were to study the *Śrīkaṇṭha Bhāṣya* under him. Fr. de Nobili says in one of his letters written in 1610 that there were more than 10,000 students at Madurai who went to different Professors for study. The same missionary while referring to the Vijayanagar Emperor, Venkaṭa II, and the ruler of Madurai during the period says that they "royally endowed several colleges for the maintenance of Professors and students while they are studying; they are there supplied victuals, clothes and everything they are in need of". These teachers at Madurai were engaged in giving a course of instruction in *Vedānta*. The lectures fell into four groups, Argumentation, Knowledge, Evidence and Faith. Speaking about the method how philosophical studies were pursued then, Fr. de Nobili says that the whole course was divided into three parts, the first dealing with evidence, the second with knowledge, and the third with authority. Each of these parts was divided into smaller divisions which the Jesuit Father noted down with great care.

Besides such well-organised large educational institutions for higher Sanskrit studies, there were a number of smaller ones conducted by eminent pandits and scholars who trained students in Vedic learning and allied literature; and for such work the teachers were granted *adhyayana vṛtti* and *bhaṭṭavṛtti mānyam*. A record at Kāñcīpuram (Chingleput Dist.) for instance, dated in 1535, mentions the grant of land for the benefit of two Brahmans who taught the Ṛk Śākhā and the Yajus Śākhā respectively at the place. Another says that Tirumalaideva Mahārāya made a grant of one *vṛtti* of land in a village for the study of Ṛg Veda and another for a study of Yajur Veda. The kings usually recognised and honoured scholarship by making grants to and patronising scholars.

Mallikārjuna Rāya, for instance, honoured one Āditya Rāya, a Brahman learned in the Vedas, *Śāstras*, *Purāṇas* and the six systems of philosophy, with the grant of a village. It is said that the scholar was examined by the king himself in all branches of learning in a learned assembly and was honoured in open court. Again, Venkaṭapati Rāya (A.D. 1584-1614) made a gift of land in A.D. 1612-13 to a scholar called Rāmakṛṣṇa Josya who was well versed in the Vedas, *Vedāngas*, *Tarka*, *Smṛti* and *Sūryasiddhānta*. In another case Immaḍi Narasimha made the grant of a village to forty persons well versed in *Mīmāmsā*, *Nyāya*, the three Vedas, the *Purāṇas*, the *Smṛtis*, the *Tantras* and the *Mantras* and who were strict observers of religious customs and ceremonies. Again a Brahman astronomer who was well versed in the (science of) the movements of stars, an expert in the science of *yantras* (mystic tantric diagrams for worship) and an astronomer versed in the science of *yāmala* (*Rudrayāmala*, a certain treatise on *mantra*), received certain grants. Instances of this kind of patronage to scholars may be multiplied. Besides, scholars who wrote works relating to Vedic literature, philosophy, rituals and other subjects were also honoured by the kings. Thus the atmosphere was good for the promotion and spread of Sanskrit learning in South India during the period.

The policy of the Vijayanagar kings was followed by their subordinates also, as, for instance, the Nāyak rulers of Tanjore who were great patrons of learning. In fact their contributions and benevolence to the spread of Sanskrit learning in South India were immense. That was not a little due to the fact that many of the kings themselves were scholars in Sanskrit and were really interested in the promotion of its study. The period of the Maratha rule in the Carnatic was also a similar one; for instance, the reign period of Shahji (A.D. 1684-1712) was an Augustan age of Sanskrit literature, the ruler himself being a scholar in Sanskrit, Marathi and Telugu. His patronage of Sanskrit scholars is borne out by his grant of the whole village of Tiruviśanallūr (Shāhajirājapuram) in 1693 to a group of 46 Brahmans whose reputation as scholars had travelled far beyond the geographical limits of their villages. Among them were authors of many philosophical works, dramas etc.

The library or *Sarasvati Bhaṇḍāra* or *Pustaka Bhaṇḍāra* was a well recognised institution of mediaeval religious and

student life. There were definite rules with regard to the organisation of libraries and the *Pauṣkarasamhitā* (published at Melkote in 1934) has a chapter entitled *Jñānapratiṣṭhāna* giving rules for the formation of libraries in temples. Great temples like those at Srīrangam and Kāñcī had each a *Pustaka Bhaṇḍāra*. There was a library attached to the Advaita Śankara maṭha at Śṛṅgēri under the charge of a librarian. Similar ones might have existed in many other places also.

I have dealt so far only with Sanskrit learning. I shall now dealt with certain aspects of the history of Sanskrit literature in South India. South India maintains its distinctness with regard to its mode of life and thought which are reflected in her religious practices and ritualism. Likewise, it has maintained its individuality with regard to its contributions to Sanskrit literature. (It has contributed much to the growth of that literature from very early times and produced good many works of great value.) I do not know if the history of Sanskrit literature branches-war in South India has been studied from the point of view of the student of history and culture. Studies of the kind have been made in Bengal, for instance, with regard to which region we have works like *Sanskrit literature in Bengal during the Sena period*, *History of Navya Nyāya in Bengal and Mithila* etc. Such a study will give us some idea about the literary tendency in the region from age to age. South India has produced quite an unwieldy number of books in many a branch of Sanskrit learning, and any good treatment of each one of them will go to make up a good volume. But the work is full of difficulties. We do not have much knowledge of the life and chronology of the authors as also a full list of the works of each. I have therefore to content myself with a reference only to the most important and representative of the litterateurs who have contributed to Sanskrit learning in South India and some of their works.

The period of the Pallavas was a great one of literary activity in South India. The kings were patrons of Sanskrit literature. An idea of the extent of the cultivation of Sanskrit is indicated by the *praśastis* contained in the copper plates of the kings. Mahendravarman, the Royal Artist, who was a Sanskrit scholar, was the author of two Sanskrit farces, the *Mattavilāsa Prahasana* and the *Bhagavadajjuka*. In the former

he caricatures Buddhist monks and Śaiva mendicants like the Kāpālikas and the Pāśupatas. Daṇḍin the author of the *Kāvyādarśa*, a good manual on rhetoric, and the *Daśakumāracarita*, giving the story of ten princes, lived. in the court of Narasimhavarman II. Bhāravi, the author of the *Kirātārjunīya*, is said to have visited the courts of the Pallava king Simhaviṣṇu of Kāñcī, Durvinīta, the Ganga king ruling over the Mysore country, and Viṣṇuvardhana the brother of the Cāḷukya king Pulakēsin II.

Though the age of the Cōḷas was really the golden age of Tamil literature, the Cōḷa kings were patrons of Sanskrit literature also and gave encouragement for the production of Sanskrit works. Rājarāja II, for instance, commissioned a certain Keśavasvāmin who was employed in his service to compile for the benefit of young pupils a Lexicon; and the result was the *Nānārthārṇavasamkṣepa*, now published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit series. Earlier, one Mādhava, a son of a Vēnkaṭārya wrote a commentary on the Ṛg Veda.

In Philosophy there was much literary output during the period. Kumārila annotated the *Śabara Bhāṣya* on Jaimini's *Mīmāmsāsūtras* in three works. His pupil Prabhākara, who started a rival school, also wrote commentaries on the *Śabara Bhāṣya*. Among the works that Śrī Śankara wrote mention may be made of the *Bhāṣyas* on the *Brahmasūtras*, the principal *Upaniṣads* and the *Bhagavadgītā*. Among the writers of the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* school were Nāthamuni, Yāmunācārya and Rāmānujācārya, the last of whom was the author of the *Śrī Bhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtras*. Madhva, the exponent of the *Dvaita* system of philosophy, wrote his *Bhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtras* and commentaries on the *Upaniṣads* and the *Bhagavadgītā*.

The period of Vijayanagar was one of great literary activity; and its contribution to pure literature besides religious, philosophical, sectarian and historical ones was considerable. Many of the kings, themselves being scholars, were great patrons of learning. Apart from Mādhavācārya and Sāyaṇācārya who were prolific writers, there were many scholars in the period. I shall mention only some of them. Vēdānta Dēśika was a versatile genius of rare ability and was a prolific writer in Sanskrit and Tamil, in prose and verse. He wrote about 120 works of which 90 were in Sanskrit. Among them are the *Yādavābhyudaya*, a *mahākāvya* on the exploits of

Kṛṣṇa which was commented later by the polyhistor Appayya Dīkṣita, the *Hamsasandeśa* modelled on Kālidasa's *Meghasandeśa*, the *Sankalpasūryodaya*, a long allegorical drama in ten acts presenting the system of *Viśiṣṭādvaita*, and the *Pādukāsahasra* a devotional poem. Appayya Dīkṣita who lived in the latter half of the sixteenth century and who had a thorough knowledge of *Mīmāmsā*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Nyāya* and *Alankāra* has been credited with 104 works. Among them may be mentioned the *Sivārkamaṇidīpikā*, a commentary on Śrīkaṇṭha's *Śaiva Bhāṣya*, *Śiva-tattvaviveka* where Śiva is made the Lord of the Universe, the *Parimala*, a sub-commentary on Śankara's Brahma-sūtra-bhāṣya, the *Kuvalayānanda*, *Citramīmāmsā* and the *Vṛttivārttika*, all works on Rhetoric, a commentary on the *Yādavābhyudaya* of Vēdānta Dēśika, besides a number of other works. Vādirāja of the Dvaita school of philosophy who also lived in the sixteenth century was a prolific writer credited with more than sixty works. The *Yuktimallikā*, a work elaborating the teaching of the *Brahmasūtras* as deduced by Madhva, is the most important of his works. Among the other scholars in South India were Raghunātha Nāyaka, the Nayak ruler of Tanjore who produced the *Sangīta Sudhā* in collaboration with his minister Gōvinda Dīkṣita. Gōvinda Dīkṣita who was himself a great authority on the six *darśanas* was the author of the *Sāhitya Sudhā*. Vēnkaṭa Makhi, his son, was the author of the *Caturdaṇḍiprakāśikā* and Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita wrote the *Sāhityaratnākara* dealing with the life, achievements and times of Raghunātha Nāyaka. Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita who flourished at Madurai in the court of Tirumalai Nāyaka (A.D. 1623-59) was a renowned Sanskrit scholar and author of several works among which were the *Śivalīlārṇava*, *Gangāvataraṇa*, *Naḷacaritanāṭaka* and *Nīlakaṇṭhavijaya Campū*. There were a number of women poets also in the Vijayanagar period such as Gangādevī who wrote the *Madhurāvijayam* dealing with the exploits of her lord Kumāra Kampaṇa, Tirumalāmbā, who wrote the *Varadāmbikā-pariṇaya* celebrating the marriage of Varadāmbā with Acyuta-Rāya, and Rāmabhadrāmbā who wrote the *Raghunāthābhyudaya* glorifying the greatness of her lord Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore.

Thus in ancient days Sanskrit studies received encouragement at the hands of the Government and private organisations and thrived well in South India. Times have now

changed considerably and are fast changing still. The number of individual great scholars or *śāstrajñas* is, I fear, dwindling. The younger generation in the houses of such people is in many cases giving up such hereditary study and taking to English education. The number of educational institutions devoted to the imparting of Vedic learning as also the strength of such institutions is fast coming down. The same is the case with Sanskrit Colleges. A few days ago we had the disconcerting news that some courses in the Sanskrit College at Tiruvaiyar have not been attracting students and therefore a proposal to close down such courses was under consideration. Thus Sanskrit studies are at a pinch in the modern day. There is a growing bias against it from certain sections of people in South India. It is really unfortunate that the position of the language has come to that condition, which, however, should not be so. Lovers of Sanskrit have therefore to plead for the retention and promotion of Sanskrit studies. The place of Sanskrit in the cultural life of our country as the repository of all national wisdom and accumulated experience can hardly be exaggerated. It has been the vehicle of the evolution and progress of our culture in days of old. It is of course next to impossible to make it the national language of our country as also the spoken language among all the people now. But in this period of cultural renaissance in India it is necessary that greater interest should be created in South India for the study and promotion of Sanskrit so that its position as a treasure-house of knowledge may be adequately realised.

Vedic scholarship is an institution by itself and Vedic scholars are the inheritors and carriers of our traditional learning. They are not of late able to make themselves felt and infuse into the people an attitude of respect, patient hearing and tolerance to their expositions. That is due to the fact that times have changed. So our cultural achievement requires renovation and a new interpretation. While it is necessary that we should draw from the past far more than we should from the Western countries, it is necessary that our culture must be expounded in a different way. A new and probably a more liberal interpretation of our cultural past is, I think, necessary. It should be built, though on old lines, definitely with an eye on time. Our interest in our cultural heritage has been revived by the Western thinkers. We should take advantage of it and

pursue the work combining the eastern depth with the western breadth.

One of the reasons why Sanskrit Colleges do not attract a large number of students at the present day is probably the fact that even after a course of strenuous study and training, those that come out of the portals of the Colleges are not generally materially well off when compared with persons with less education and training. They have no definite avenues of employment except as Pandits in High Schools where their status and emoluments are not comparable to those of many other teachers in them. Therefore to better the prospects of those going out of the Sanskrit Colleges the avenues of employment for them must be made wider. But such things are not possible unless the scope of their studies is widened and made to cover a broader field so that they may be on a par with other qualified persons to compete for places which may better their material position and prospects. But it will have its own disadvantage for such widening in the scope of their studies would not be conducive to deep and intensive study of the language.

For creating and fostering interest in the study and promotion of Sanskrit among the people I think there is an urgent need for making the learning of Sanskrit easier. This can be achieved by introducing a simpler method with regard to teaching it. A scheme for that purpose was, as many of you know, evolved by Sri R. Sankarasubrahmanya Ayyar and experimented under the very auspices of this Research Institute. It was only yesterday that the course which extended for six months was completed. Such experiments must be tried in other places also and Sanskrit must be popularised among all. The running of free classes for the purpose would have also to be undertaken.

If interest in Sanskrit is to be revived, much important work has to be done at a higher level also, by way of collecting, editing and publishing important manuscripts dealing with different branches of knowledge; and in such lines of work, Institutes of this kind may do a great deal and supplement the work of Universities.

MALABAR IN ANANDARANGA PILLAI'S DIARY

BY

DR. V. RAGHAVAN

Carnatic Politics in the middle of the 18th century had its parallel in the Malabar affairs of the same period; Pondicherry on the one hand and Madras and Fort St. David on the other had their counterparts in Mahe and Tellicherry;[1] just as on the east coast, on the west coast the French and the English trading settlements freely fished in the troubled waters of native principalities, involved the local Indian powers and their resources in the repurcussions of their mutual conflicts in Europe, and reared their political ambitions on the soil of this country. The events were now and then marked by the additional complications of the Dutch, who rendered the contest there triangular. The French and the English on either coast were in constant touch, and Pondicherry, being an important headquarters of one of these foreign settlements, figured as the centre of some amount of diplomatic activity in the political vicissitudes of Malabar in this period. The political events of this period and the transactions of the rulers and chiefs of the different parts of Malabar at this time with the foreigners settled amidst them have already been traced and set forth in detail by Logan[2] and others. My intention in touching upon this subject is to put together here the references to Travancore in particular and to Malabar in general scattered in the pages of the voluminous private diary of Anandaranga Pillai,[3] the Dubhash of Dupleix and the French at Pondicherry at this time, a document which forms one of the valuable source books for the history of

1. The English formed their first settlement at Tellicherry in 1683 ; earlier the French had a factory in this same place. The French then established their Calicut Factory in 1698.

2. Malabar, 3 Vols. (Vol. I. esp.), Madras 1906. Also Galletti, Dutch in Malabar, Madras 1911, Padmanabha Menon, History of Kerala, Vol. I, Ernakulam, 1929, and Nagam Aiya, the Travancore State Manual.

3. From 1736-1761. Translated into English from the original Tamil, Government of Madras, Ed. by Price and Dodwell, 12 Vols., 1904-28.

these times. So far as I know, the only place where there is a solitary reference to this material is the introductory note of the late Mahakavi Ulloor S. Paramesvara Iyer in the Bālarāmabharata edited in the Trivandrum Sanskrit series[1]. The Diary of Anandaranga Pillai being a private record, including detailed personal references and his own reflections, contains in these references to Malabar much information that has an interest of its own. Though they do not reveal any new or major event of political importance, they yet fill in the picture with many details, supply names and identities of persons and places, and afford glimpses into the social-cum-political milieu of these times, and bear a corroborative value in an account of the history of Malabar in this period.

II

Anandaranga Pillai was a great believer in astrology, and by slow degrees he made Dupleix himself and many other French officers evince interest in it. In fact, the Muhammadans, the English and the Dutch, all sought guidance and solace from Indian astrologers in their political undertakings.[2] Some Tamil astrologers are mentioned by name, but Pillai and those around consulted also *Malabar astrologers*, the reputation of Malabar for astrology being mentioned in the Diary twice. When the English under Boscowen were besieging Pondicherry, Dupleix asked Pillai (Diary V, p. 372) when, according to the Tamil astrologers, the English would retire (entry for Oct. 1, 1748), Pillai sets forth the predictions of the Tamil astrologers in favour of eventual French success. Then, "the Governor turned to the Europeans there and said, "The Tamils are rarely deceived, and their sayings come true". Upon this, " M. Desfiesnes said it was the same in *Malabar*."

During the Governorship of De Leyrit, the conversation reverts on one day (April 10th, 1755) to this subject. The Governor asked Pillai if Dupleix believed in astrology and

1. TSS. CXVIII. Introduction, p. 15 : "It may in this connection be noted that his (Bala Rama Varma's) uncle, Martanda Varma, sent a court poet of his on an embassy to Dupleix in 1747 A.D., as may be seen from the Private Diary of Anandaranga Pillai."

2. *See* pp. 14-16, Introduction to my edition of the Ānandaraṅga Campū of Śrīnivāsakavi.

Pillai replied that successive correct predictions regarding the reverses of the English and Anwar-ud-din and Nasir Jang had made Dupleix a believer. The Governor then asked Pillai who made those predictions and Pillai replied, "*the predictions were made by Malabar astrologers, whose predictions always prove true.*"

III

The intrigues, consultations and diplomatic correspondence among the powers during these unsettled times required a category of messengers and courtiers who could move about from one headquarters to another without being suspected. By virtue of their literary pursuits and religious tours, the Brahmans were always found most serviceable for this service, some of them being poets and votaries of arts like music.[1] The glimpses into Malabar affairs afforded in Pillai's diary show some persons of this description going between Pondicherry and Travancore and Kolattanad. Five of these messengers, and also one more mentioned in the Diary belong to this group; one is a merchant, and two others are drawn from a different class. It will be interesting to find out the identities and other activities of these persons. One at least, students of literature will surely be curious about, for he is mentioned as a court poet of the Raja of Travancore. The first envoy we come across is one *Ṇāraṇappayyan, a Brahman,* from Bala Martanda Varma, king of Travancore, and he arrived at Pondicherry on 3rd March 1741 (Diary I, p. 155.). On 6th March, 1747, the same King had sent to Pondicherry an agent named Kunti Nāyakkan (Diary III, p. 406). On April 8, 1747, Pillai himself wrote a letter to King Martanda Varma of Travancore (Diary IV, pp. 54-5) in which reference is seen to his having heard the king's message through his envoy, who is described as "the Pandit, your court poet."[2] On Sept. 30, in the same year, one Sora Mudali Marakkayar came to Pondicherry as a messenger of the Raja of Travancore (Diary IV, p. 152). After a period of about one and a half

1. For a poet-cum-musician Kastūri Raṅgayya in this kind of service under Pillai, see my introduction to Ānandaraṅga Campū, pp. 9-10, and my article on Kastūri-Raṅgayya in the Gopala Krishnamachariar Book of Commemoration, pp. 4. 91-93.

2. This is the reference to the court poet mentioned by Ulloor S. Paramesvara Iyer in his introductory note in the T. S. S. edn, of the Bālarāmabharata ; see above.

months this Marakkayar leaves (Nov. 17th) with a reply and a cloth present. Two Christians bring a message in French from Bala Martanda Varma on Oct. 25th, 1748 (Diary VI, pp. 23, 25) to which, on Dupleix's instructions, Pillai sends a reply in *Tamil*, through the same Christian messengers, giving them a present of Rs. 20 (p. 25). Again, on May 4, 1750, when Dupleix wanted to write to Bala Martanda Raja of Travancore, he drafted it in French, and asked Pillai to put it in Tamil and send it through two messengers; Pillai was occupied with the writing of this letter in Tamil till 11 o'clock that day and kept two copies of it (Diary VII, pp. 104-5). The letter which Sora Mudali Marakkayar brought from Martanda Varma was also written in Tamil (see Diary VII, p. 10). Not only in the Travancore correspondence but in the Kolattanad letters too, Tamil was employed; in a letter from the Raja of Kolattanad received on Aug. 30, 1751 (Diary VIII, p. 44), the handwriting was partly in Tamil and partly in Malayalam. The two messengers asked to be got ready to carry this letter were two Brahmans proceeding to Mahe, says the Diary in the record for May 7th, 1750, on which day they were given one of the copies of the letter and sent with instructions to deliver it *secretly*. The letter was handed over to them in the presence of Dupleix with a cash present of Rs. 10. It is likely these two Brahmans are identical with Perumāl Ayyan and Ayyāsāmi mentioned in Diary V, p. 280 (Aug. 31, 1748) as being en route to Malabar and as having reached Coimbatore; in fact, from the record for Aug. 30, of 1751, (Diary VIII, p. 44) we learn that it was these two Brahmans who were regularly engaged for envoy work between Pondicherry and. Malabar; from the same context we gather also that of these two Brahmans Ayyāsāmi at least was a Vaiṣṇava.

The Muhammadan Sora Mudali Marakkayar already noted figures again in Vol. VII of the diary, along with a Tamil, named Mālu Pillai, both of whom are mentioned here as the two 'capable agents', sent by the Raja of Travancore (pp. 409-410). These two, as this reference and another one immediately following (pp. 423-4) show, had come on an important occasion, but of this, more later.

The dispute among the rivals in Kolattanad also occasioned some negotiations and exchange of messages between Kolattanad and Pondicherry. As early as 1st Nov. 1746, a

Bhattan from the Raja of Kolattanad is seen at Pondicherry with a double cadjan letter from Kolattiri. In 1755, when M. Leyrit was Governor, the Kolastry Raja of Malabar sent to Pondicherry a Brahman envoy named Ganapati to seek French help (Diary IX, pp. 327-8). While the above Brahman, who conducted a capable negotiation with the French Governor, had come on a political mission, another anonymous Brahman dropped in at Pondicherry on Oct. 3, 1756, with letters from the chief of Mahe and the Kolastri Raja in Chirukkanad for the purpose of instituting on the banks of the Cauvery a charitable endowment for the feeding of Brahmans; the Kolastri Raja desired this very much, and for this requested the French for the grant of a village on the Cauvery, yielding five to six thousand *kalams* of paddy (Diary X, pp. 230-231). The conversation that followed between Governor Leyrit and Dubhash Pillai is enlightening, the latter laying down, as it were, the proper policy to be adopted by foreign rulers towards the religious faith of the people of the country. The Governor said such a grant was contrary to his religion but Pillai said such an answer should not be given; "God was the common ruler of people of all faiths, and blessed each as he saw good; the ruler came next to God, and when men of different faiths lived under his sway, he should treat them all alike." The Governor was partly pleased and partly unwilling to make the grant, and after some more cross examination ordered that an evasive reply should be sent to the Kolastri Raja on this matter (pp. 231-2). On August 17th, 1760, (Diary XII, p. 317) another Brahman from the Raja of Kolattanad came to Pondicherry with cadjan letters not only to the Governor, but to Pillai himself and the Padre of the St. Paul's Church, Pondicherry. This Brahman returned with a reply on Sept. 14, 1760 (Diary XII, p. 388).

A Brahman messenger from Malabar is also mentioned (Diary VI, p. 37, Oct. 30th 1748) as having been bound to Pondicherry along with M. Changeac who was imprisoned by the English at Cuddalore and later released. The well-known Muhammadan adventurer of Pondicherry, Jamedar Abdul Rahman, as also his colleague Ali Khan, came from Malabar (Diary VI, p. 18). Christianity found strong support at Pondicherry, especially at the hands of Mme. Dupleix, and once a batch of Christian beggars are mentioned as having arrived from Malabar and as receiving cash charity from

Dupleix (Diary VIII, p. 308). Pillai comments on this expression of generosity on Dupleix's part as a wonder even to his own household.

There is also a reference to the Malabar speciality, the cocoanut plantation; it is said that to know the actual rental value of cocoanut areas, M. du Bausset was ordered to go to the Malabar coast (VII, p. 187).

IV

The political events figuring in these Malabar references in the Diary of Anandaranga Pillai may be conveniently reviewed under three heads, Travancore affairs, Kolattanad affairs and miscellaneous matters. We shall first take note of the Travancore matters.

(*a*)

The Raja of Travancore who figures in these despatches between Travancore and Pondicherry was the great Martanda Varma, the maker of modern Travancore, who reigned from 1729 to 1758. The Diary mentions him as Vala (Bala) Martanda Raja of Tiruvankodu (II, p. 358; IV, p. 199; VI, pp. 23-25; VII, pp. 104-5, 125, 418), Vanji Vala Martanda Varma (III, p. 906; IV, p. 208; VII, pp. 409-410) and Udaya Martanda Raja (IV, pp. 54-5). His envoy Nāraṇappayyan arrived in Pondicherry on 3rd March, 1741, doing the journey by land upto Karaikal and then taking a boat there for Pondicherry. When he delivered Martanda Varma's letter with the presents to Dupleix, commensurate with the importance of the King, a salute of seven guns were fired and Nāraṇappayyan was presented with turban and shawl (I, p. 155). And Pillai himself in his reply to the Raja addressed him as "the possessor of happiness, the lord of many lands, the Sun among princes, the lion among kings, the treasurehouse of light, Maharajarajasri Udaya Martanda Raja" (IV, p. 54).

One of the chief encounters which Martanda Varma had in his efforts to extend and consolidate his kingdom and in which he scored signal success was the battle with the Dutch at Colachel, fought on 31st July 1741 A.D. Nagamayya says[1] that "it was just before this battle that the Maharaja had sent ambassadors to the French at Pondicherry to conclude a treaty of friendship and mutual help. He promised the French the

1. The Travancore State Manual, Vol. I, 1906, pp. 342-3.

grant of lands at Colachel and other places for constructing factories. But as the Dutch were completely defeated, and that without much effort, the negotiations were dropped." From the Diary of Anandaranga Pillai, we gather details of the mission and messages sent by Martanda Varma to Dupleix, which started no doubt on the eve of the battle of Colachel, but were continued. The references in the Diary reveal a continuous friendliness between Travancore and the French; and in the French conflict with the English, the Travancore King was taking kind interest in the former.

The first envoy is Nāraṇappayyan already referred to as having arrived at Pondicherry four months before the actual battle at Colachel. Unfortunately the Diary does not disclose the contents of his letters.

On 11th April, 1746, it is recorded (I. 383) that Martanda Varma evinced much concern for French welfare during the time of their conflict with the English. A French ship *'Pondicherry Marchand', en route* to Mahe from Mascareigne, was cruising off Colachel; M. Puel was in command; the Raja of Travancore called M. Puel, warned him that as some English ships were making for those ports, he might seek a safe place and depart; Puel departed to the neutral Danish Port of Tranquebar; but even there the English harassed him so much that he had to run his vessel ashore and destroy her. A letter of Martanda Varma received at Pondicherry on 4th October, 1746 (II. 358) is in the same strain; it refers to the Travancore Government having helped the French in the matter of repairing some French vessels lying in the roads there, that the Mahe Dubhash had heard of the engagement of nine French ships coming from France with six of the English off Negapatam and the flight of the latter, and that he was desirous of knowing whether French ships would reach Travancore that month itself.

On 8th February, 1747, a French fleet was despatched from Pondicherry, in the small hours of the morning, for the purpose of engaging and taking the English ships cruising on the Malabar coast, off Anjengo and Tellicherry. In this connection, Dupleix wrote to the Raja of Travancore to procure the assistance of Angnas[1] on the French side

1. The followers of a piratical chief Toolajee Angria infesting the waters on the Malabar coast.

(III. 298). Next month, on 6th March, a further despatch was sent to Martanda Varma by Pillai in Dupleix's name, and sent through Martanda Varma's agent Kunti Nāyakkan; but of the contents of this mission of Kunti Nāyakkan, nothing is known (III, 406).

In April, 1747, a court poet of Martanda Varma called at Pondicherry: Pillai referred to him in an ardent reply of his to Martanda Varma; it is said that the king's letter to the Governor would receive a reply which the court poet could take with him (IV. 54-55). While nothing is known of the matter in this reference again, we are just able to gather here that the court poet would carry also the letter for the Mahe chief, which the Travancore King had asked for.

In September of the same year, 30th, (IV. 152), a representative of the Travancore Raja, a Muhammadan convert named Sora Mudali Marakkayar, came to Pondicherry. When he arrived, really two letters were brought from Travancore, one in Tamil and another in Portuguese. A 'polite and suitable' reply was drafted for this by Pillai on or about November 9th, and on 17th, Sora Marakkayar was sent back with this reply and a present. The matter involved in this correspondence is not known (IV. 199, 208).

On October 25, 1748, two Christians from Martanda Varma brought a message from that King in French, sympathising with the French and offering them help against the English. Dupleix sent a courteous reply thanking the King and informing him of their success over the English.

Early in May 4th, 1750, Dupleix sent a letter to Martanda Varma and had it written in Tamil and despatched by Pillai on May 7th, through two Brahmans going to Mahe, instructing them to deliver the letter to the King *secretly*. (VII. 104-5, 125). The special instruction, as also the long time that Pillai took to write the letter betrays an important purpose of which however we are not able to glean anything.

Sora Marakkayar, already mentioned, came to Pondicherry again about October 23rd in 1750; he now came with another, a Tamil named Mālu Pillai. The matter on which the two came appears to be somewhat important and the two came not as mere carriers of a message; they discussed with Dupleix the adequacy of his reply to their Raja, and Dupleix referred to them as the 'two capable agents.' Dupleix ordered

Portuguese and French translations to be made of the Raja's letter (VII, 409-410) and cross-examined the two representatives as to their knowledge of political affairs. He put to them geographical questions regarding Quilon, Cochin, Kalkulam etc., and the number of forts the Dutch had in the Travancore region. Their knowledge of geography was defective but they mentioned that the Dutch had one fort and four factories, and the English one fort and two factories. The occasion of this mission, it is seen here, was trouble again from the Dutch who were helping Travancore's enemies and stirring up troubles for Travancore; and Martanda Varma had asked for French help again; unfortunately the French and Dutch were at this time on friendly terms at home and Dupleix promised help but said he could not go on war against the Dutch. According to the representation made by the Raja, the Dutch would foment trouble only if the French were shown extra concessions for building forts, but if the French could privately send tropps and ammunition, he would look to his defence himself. Dupleix was not easily moved to acceptance, despite the pleas of the two emissaries of Travancore; he said he would consult his council and asked them to wait. Four days later (October, 27th) Dupleix drafted his reply and asked Pillai to call the two Travancore representatives and explain to them its Tamil version. Sora Marakkayar and Mālu Pillai noted that three points in their Raja's letter had not been touched by Dupleix's letter, and retired for a day for mutual consultation. On 29th they came back and represented the points noted by them: Firstly their King desired that the French should see to it that no hat-man (European) except the French entered his kingdom; for this Dupleix had no reply in his letter. Secondly Dupleix had written that the French would not hold themselves responsible for any attack launched by Travancore which the messengers said he should not say in his reply. The third point is missing, but probably, referred to the fact that as the Dutch were actively assisting Travancore's enemies, the French must promise to destroy them (VII, 409-410, 423-4). The background of this French-Travancore negotiation comprehended the Kolastri dispute also to which we shall come later. That the French tried to exploit the situation and founded some factories in Malabar at this time, which is hinted at in the Diary record cited above, is borne out from other sources. The Travancore State Manual says (p. 350): "In

1750 A. D., the French attempted to form a settlement at Colachel. It does not appear they were successful. In the next year the Raja of Travancore wrote to the King of Colastria 'advising him not to put any confidence in the French, but to assist the English as much as he could'. See also Logan, Malabar, I, p. 390, wherefrom we may gather that the French continued to cherish designs of founding factories in the Nilesvaram area, rich in sandal and cardamom. Disappointment with the French had evidently now followed, but the Diary still records that late the next year, September, 17th, 1751, there was a letter of the Travancore King received at Pondicherry; its contents are not mentioned, but we may guess that, as the Kolattanad dispute was going on and the French were sought by one of the parties, the Travancore Raja's letter to Dupleix had some bearing on the same affair.

(*b*)

The Colastri dispute is a well known chapter in Malabar history during the time of the European trading settlements.[1] Colastri or Kolattiri refers to the northernmost Malabar powers, the chief of Kolattanad or Chirakkal near Mahe. The Kolattanad chiefs had adoption relations with Travancore; and one of their branches was the northern Kolattiri of Kadattanad, referred to also as Bayanore (*i.e.*, Vadakara). Dependent on the Kolattiris were a number of minor chieftains, in possession of smaller units, Nambiars, Nairs, etc., in Kottayam and other places. Mutual bickerings are to be expected in such a situation and they were quite evident when the Europeans, the English, French and the Dutch were founding their settlements on the west coast. Two of the main branches of the Kolattiris, already referred to as being in possession of the area in the south and north, were respectively known also as Tekkelankur and Vadakkelankur; the latter entertained the English and gave them permission to build their Tellicherry factory (20th August, 1708). The English had also befriended some of the Kolattiri subordinates like the Kurangot Nayar and the Iruvalinad Nambiar. In 1729, the French after a brief opposition from the Kadattanad chief and the English, secured a footing in Kadattanad. In 1731-2, the Canarese chief of Bednore pressed southwards and

1. *See* Logan, I, Padmanabha Menon II, pp. 187 ff. and Galletti, The Dutch in Malabar, p. 66.

made the Kolattiri his vassal, but soon the English created a combination of themselves, the Kolattiri Regent, Kottayam Raja and the Dutch to oust the Canarese and succeeded. The Kolattiri was however not fully free from Canarese harassment which continued in parts of his territory, and he had to seek the English for further help. The English bargained the help for a gift of land and promise on Kolattiri's part not to seek any other European help. The English subdued the Canarese but not before draining considerably the financial resources of the Kolattiri. The family dissensions among the Kolattiris also increased and the English and the French began meddling with their affairs more and more. When the English and the French were at war (1744-49), the Kolattiri was unfriendly to the English. The English, acting on behalf of the Palli branch, obtained for him from Vadakkelankur a substantial concession of territory. In 1751, the conflict came to a head; the Kolattiri Raja at that time was a frail old man without any power; the Prince Regent wanted to endow his son who was nephew of the Kadattanad Raja with some territory, but Mr. Dorril of Tellicherry not only did not agree to this, but set up an elder prince of the line as the proper ruler. Subordinates like the Nambiars now took sides; the dispossessed prince Regent, finding the English against him, turned to the French for help. Against the combined rise of the local chiefs, helped by the French, the English sought the friendship of the Canarese of Bednore; but the French who moved fast occupied Nilesvaram area. The English created a split between the Prince Regent and the Kottayam chief; there was a French attack in March, 1752, an armistice was agreed upon, but the English, afraid of the combination of the Prince Regent and the French, created a counterbloc with the Zamorin, Kottayam Raja and Iravalinad Nambiars. In the Anglo-French conflict, the Prince Regent was on the French side, and between them, the Prince Regent promised to part with Mattali fort for two favours on the part of the French, evacuation of Nilesvaram and cancellation of the money loan advanced for the campaigns. The French got the fort but repudiated their part of the contract, which drove the Prince Regent to Tellicherry where Mr. Hodges had displaced Mr. Dorril. The English agreed to a treaty of help against the French.

In May 1757, the Prince Regent died, giving room for succession quarrels. There was opposition between the

Northern Regent (Vadakkelamkur) and a junior Prince, son-in-law of the late Prince Regent. This junior Prince, related to Kadattanad, was in the sphere of French influence. The former was sided by Kottayam and Cannanore, and actual conflict broke out towards the end of September; with success attending him, the Northern Prince generously granted rights to the English allies.[1]

This review of the Kolattiri affairs, which might be stopped here, is necessary to understand the second group of Malabar references in Anandaranga Pillai's diary. Pillai records on 1st November, 1746 (Vol. III, p. 64) that a Bhaṭṭan from the Raja of Kolattiri arrived at Pondicherry with a double cadjan letter, and Dupleix gave the reply through Pillai. "Tell the envoy that we know the circumstances in which the Raja is at present placed. He requires our help to drive out the pretender who is now in possession of his country and the English who have befriended his rival. Inform him that we will expel the English and seize their possessions; that we will support his master; and that the Raja himself must set about collecting the force requisite to overthrow his opponent." Regarding this trouble of the Kolattiri Raja, which made him seek help from Pondicherry, we find in Logan (I, p. 384) that "in April, 1746, there was a revolution in Kolattanad, and a prince favourable to the Company's (English) interests obtained the reins of power...."

It is only after five years that we next see Kolattanad occurring in Pillai's diary. At the time of the major conflict in Kolattiri in 1751, which has been set forth above, *i.e.*, we read in Pillai's Diary (VIII, p. 44, Aug. 30, 1751) that a letter written in Malayalam and Tamil had arrived from the Raja of Kolattanad informing that the Raja was fighting his enemies, that the English were helping those enemies, that French help was wanted and that he had already appealed to Mahe for ammunitions. This is the Prince Regent referred to in the Kolattanad account given above. On September 18th again (1751; VIII, 64), Dupleix received a letter from Mahe according to which the English were in alliance with the Ikkeri people, *i.e.*, Bednore Nayak, and all these allied were

1. See Logan, Malabar, I, and Padmanabha Menon, History of Kerala, Vol. 2.

harassing the French ally and that the last required additional troops.

Four years later, on 17th July, 1755, when Leyrit was Governor at Pondicherry, a letter arrived from the Kolattiri Raja of Malabar (IX. p. 327-8), *i.e.*, the Northern Prince. Pillai's record says that the Prince was formerly known as the Raja of Boyanore. This prince presented his compliments to the new French Governor and sought French help. The Governor told Gaṇapati, the messenger, that the French could not help the Prince till the Raja of Chirakkal recognised him as a Raja. Lonet, the French chief at Mahe, did not recognise him as Raja, on the ground that he had no local status though this particular prince had been helpful to the French in the past; to the unreasonableness of Lonet's attitude, M. Desfresnes and M. Bourquenond bore testimony, who reminded that this Prince had granted them lands in the past and it would be ingratitude not to help him. The envoy Gaṇapati added that now this Prince promised to help the French to procure all the pepper of Malabar. The Governor however would give his reply only after contacting Mahe which he did immediately.

On September 11th, in the same year, there were further letters to Pondicherry on the same matter; Kunjiya Nayar, who was evidently one of the local authorities under the Kolattiri, wrote a letter to Pondicherry complaining about Mahe, that Lonet listened to the Chirakal Raja, and had not paid the allowances due to him for five years, despite his consistent friendship to the French. Accompanying the letter was a similar one from the Kadattanad chief. One hundred bags of rice were due to the Nayar from Lonet and Lonet refused to recognise Kadattanad as a Raja.

On July 9, 1750, Pillai's Diary tells us (X, 127) that news was to be had that the Raja of Malabar, being at enmity with Mahe, occupied the three hills round Mahe and fired on Mahe. This Raja of Malabar referred to here is, as is clear from Logan (I, p. 397), the third Prince of Nilesvaram, who, in league with the English, attacked the French. The final outcome of this was a treaty, the French part of which was ungratefully flouted by the French, and on this, the Diary has no correspondence or entry.

The Prince Regent was naturally, therefore, opposed to the French. On October 4, 1756, Pondicherry received letters

from the native chief at Mahe and the Kolattiri Chief of Chirukkanad for the grant of a village on the Cauvery for Brahman feeding (X. 230-2); despite the goading of Anandaranga Pillai, Governor Leyrit was not for acceding to this request; he said that no such consideration should be shown to the Kolattiri, and sent an evasive reply that as he was otherwise pre-occupied, expecting a settlement with Nandiraja (of Mysore) and expecting ships from Europe, he could make a gift only later! The actual reply in French to be put into Tamil by Pillai was handed over to the latter on October 31st (X, 244), and here we gather that the name of this Kolattanad chief was Rama Raja, which is not known from other sources. The next day (November 1st, 1756), the Mahe Brahman who brought the above request from the Kolattiri was sent back with the reply and presents of Rs. 100/- and a cloth (X, 247-8, 250).

It was only in 1760, when the English and French were mutually at war, that we again have some correspondence between Pondicherry and Kadattanad. On August 17th, a Brahman brought a letter from the Kadattanad Raja, enquiring of Governor Leyrit if it was true that the English had captured Pondicherry, that native people at Mahe, having heard of the fall of Pondicherry, were pressing for payment of loans given to Mahe and he was doing his best to keep them in peace (XII. 317, 321, 323). The above message was contained in three letters, to the Governor, to Anandaranga Pillai and the Padre of the St. Pauls. Leyrit could obviously send no informing reply and hesitated (p. 342) but after a month's stay, the Brahman messenger was sent back with a reply, the contents of which are not disclosed.

(*c*)-(i)

There are a few more minor references to Malabar in the Diary of Anandaranga Pillai. In 1749 (IV. 121, 194, 195, 196), references are made to Bikkam Khan and Malabar troops coming to the east coast, their internment at Fort St. David, their reported consipracy with Pondicherry and desertion to the French and the exploitation of the situation by the resourceful Shaik Abdul Rahman. This incident of the unreliability of the sepoys sent by the English from Malabar and their conspiracy with an agent of Mme. Dupleix can be verified by a reference to Logan (I, p. 385).

(ii)

Ali Raja, the Mapillai chief of Cannanore, who was pulled this side and that in the squabbles detailed above, figures once in the Diary of Anandaranga Pillai. In 1754-55, the agent of the Chief of the Maldives was staying at Pondicherry; M. Le Termellier, Captain of a French ship, had returned from the Maldives with presents from the Maldivian Raja's daughter on September 9th, 1755. She had sent also a letter stating that the Maldives had sought the French for help, ignoring the English and the Dutch, that the French had no doubt sent help to the Maldives in the past, that when their Raja was captured by Ali Raja of Cannanore in Malabar, the French wrote to the latter and got the former released, and that the Maldives wanted further help from the French to destroy their enemies and three or four ships for carrying on their trade (IX, pp. 362-3). The Governor promised help. According to Dodwell's footnote here, on the basis of Memoire de Leyrit, Ali Raja of Cannanore had tried to capture the Maldives in 1753, the King of the Maldives died in prison, and his son was still a prisoner at Cannanore in 1758. From Logan (p. 396) we learn that just at the time of the letter to Pondicherry from the Maldives Princess (September 1755) Ali Raja had organised, in alliance with the Angrias, piracy on the waters and the immediate trouble mentioned by the Princess must refer to the harassment caused in this buccaneering campaign; the imprisonment and subsequent release of the Raja of Maldives mentioned by the Princess should also have happened between 1753-55.

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ŚAIVA DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE REFERRED TO IN THE PAṆḌITĀRĀDHYA CARITRA OF PĀLKURIKI SOMANĀTHA

BY

M. Somasekhara Sarma

Pālkuriki Somanātha, the Telugu poet of the Śaiva school, flourished at the end of the thirteenth century and early in the fourteenth. He was a contemporary of Pratāparudra, the last powerful Kākatīya monarch of Warangal. He was also the preceptor of Annaya Preggaḍa of the Indulūri family, minister of Pratāparudradeva. His works in Telugu, *Basava Purāṇa* and *Paṇḍitārādhya Caritra* yield much information regarding the religious and cultural life of the Andhra people of his time. He refers, in his *Paṇḍitārādhya Caritra,* to a biography of the Śaiva divine Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita, to a number of Sanskrit works, Stotras, Aṣṭakas and Gadyas of early poets which were popular in his time, such as *Haralīlā, Mahimna Stava, Malahaṇa, Halāyudha, Pañcagadyas, Dakṣādhvara, Vyāsāṣṭaka, Gaṇāḍambara, Śarabha, Mayūra Stava, Bāṇa gadya, Akṣara gadya, Malayarājīya, Nīlakaṇṭha Stotra* and so on.[1]

ŚAIVA PAÑCA STAVAS

Of these *Nīlakaṇṭha Stava, Mahimna Stava, Anāmaya Stava, Halāyudha Stava* and *Malahaṇa Stava* are traditionally called Śaiva Pañca Stavas. These are devotional eulogies or hymns in praise of God Śiva, commonly recited by the Śaivites in the Telugu country.[2]

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1. Dīkṣā-prakaraṇam, p. 81; Vāda-prakaraṇam, p. 512, p. 686, p. 711 ; Mahimā-prakaraṇam, pp. 106 to 110 ; Śrīśaila-prakaraṇam, pp. 432 to 433. All references in this paper are to the Paṇḍitārādhya Caritra (Pd. Cr.), edited by Dr. C. Narayanarao and published in the Andhra Granthamala Series by Mr. S. Sambhu Prasad, Editor, *Andhra Patrika*, Madras.

2. There is an old Telugu edition of these; Dr. V. Raghavan has given selections from these in Devanāgarī, with English translation, in his 'Prayers, Praises and Psalms,' G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

NĪLAKAṆṬHA STAVA

There are three manuscripts of this work[3] in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. It is called after Śiva who is called Nīlakaṇṭha because of the poison he swallowed at the time of the churning of the ocean. This *stotra*, which was very popular in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A. D., is stated to have been addressed to God Śiva by Brahmā and is found in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. The Telugu poets, Śrīnātha and Pōtana who flourished in the fifteenth century also refer to this Stotra in their works.[4]

MAHIMNA STAVA

This is the well-known hymn on Śiva, generally attributed to a Gandharva king, named Puṣpadanta. Some ascribe it to Kumārila Bhaṭṭa or Bhaṭṭapādācārya. This is one of the few *Śaiva Stotras* which are very widely read by the Śaivites and the Smārtas as well. Its popularity can be gauged by counting the number of its manuscript copies preserved in the Manuscripts Libraries in South India and by the many commentaries it has received and the citation in Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's *Nyāyamañjarī*. This is one of the several *Stotras* that were inscribed in 1063 A.D. on the walls of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* in the Amareśvara temple at Māndhātā, on the left bank of the river Narmadā, in the Nimar district of the Madhya Pradesh. This *Stotra*, as inscribed in the temple referred to above, contains forty *ślokas*.[5]

ANĀMAYA STAVA

This is a hymn in praise of God Śiva in the *Mandākrāntā* metre. Its author is Daṇḍi Paṇḍita, a staunch Śaivite. This *Stotra* is generally believed to be efficacious in curing diseases. Manuscript copies of this *Stava* with commentaries are preserved in the Manuscripts Libraries of South India.

HALĀYUDHA STAVA

The author of this *Stotra* is one Halāyudha, a staunch devotee of Śiva. This *Stotra* also was inscribed on the walls of the Amareśvara temple at Māndhātā referred to before, in

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3. DCSM., Madras, Vol. XIX, pp. 7477 to 7479, Nos. 11040 to 11042.

4. Haravilasam VI., IV, v. 11 ; Vīrabhadravijayam III, v. 249 ; Bhīmesvara Purāṇam.

5. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, pp. 183 ff.

1063 A. D.[6] From the Māndhātā record we come to know that Halāyudha was an immigrant from the village of Navagrāma,[7] situated in the Southern Rāḍha country. This village is referred to as Navapura[8] in the *Paṇḍitārādhya Caritra.*

Halāyudha Stava contains in all sixty-four *ślokas*, the last *śloka* being in the nature of a colophon giving an account of the author. Halāyudha was patronised by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch, Kṛṣṇa III (939 to 967 A. D.) and by the Paramāra king, Vākpati Muñjarāja[9] (974 to 993 A.D.).

MALAHAṆA STAVA

This panegyric was addressed to God Śiva by Malahaṇa and contains thirty-six verses. In the *kavi-stuti* section

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6. *Ibid*, pp. 173 ff. This *Stava* was edited by Professor P. P. S. Sastri. A note also on this was published by Mr. N. P. Chakravarti, M. A. (*Ibid*, pp. 183 ff.). Prof. P. P. S. Sastri prepared a critical edition of it using the text inscribed in the Amareśvara temple as the basic text, and giving the variant readings from the manuscript copies preserved in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The date of Pālkuriki Somanātha given by the editor is wrong. Somanātha was a contemporary of the last Kākatīya monarch, Pratāparudra of Warangal (*Vide* my article on the date of Pālkuriki Somanātha and his works in the Telugu monthly, *Bhāratī* 1945, February number and introduction to the *Paṇḍitārādhya Caritra* by Dr. C. Narayanarao).

7. Mr. J. C. Ghosh identifies Navagrāma with the village bearing the same name in the Bharshut Pargana of the Hooghly district in Bengal (*Vide* I. C., Vol. I, pp. 503 ff. and Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, p. 184).

8. "Śivapurik=ēgaḍē bhuvi narul-vogaḍa, Navapurambu (lu)nu(?) dānu nali Halāyudhuḍu"—*Purātana Prakaraṇa*, p. 410.

9. *See* Ann. Rep., A.S.I. for 1937-38, Section-Epigraphy, written by Mr. N. P. Chakravarti, and Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, pages 173-185; Mr. Chakravarti and Prof. P. P. S. Sastri identify the author of the Sanskrit lexicon, *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, with Halāyudha, the author of this *Stava* which is probable. Pālkuriki Somanātha mentions a *Halāyudha Nighaṇṭu*, the lexicon written by Halāyudha, probably *Abhidhānaratnamālā* itself (See *Vāda Prakaraṇa*, p. 615). A staunch Vīra Śaiva, Somanātha would not have mentioned the work of any Halāyudha other than the Śaivite author of the *Stava.*

Śrīnātha mentions Malahaṇa in his Telugu work *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇa.* Pālkuriki Somanātha narrates the story of Malahaṇa in brief, why and when he composed this eulogy in praise of his lord Śiva, in the *Purātana Prakaraṇa.* From that account we come to know that Malahaṇa had loved a courtesan very passionately, that her mother had treated him badly and that it was on the exhortation of his courtesan-beloved that he began to turn his love to God Śiva and praise Him. Malahaṇa said that, with a single verse, he would cause God Śiva to speak to him, winning His grace by his devotional eulogy, if only she stood close behind embracing him. Thereafter, they both repaired to a Śivā temple, and Malahaṇa began his eulogy beginning with *Kāntā-kacapracaya* and praised God Śiva in thirty-six stanzas. Pleased with his devotion Śiva appeared before him, and took him, his harlot, her mother and his harlot's parrot,—all in golden *vimānas* to Kailāsa.[10]

Ūrē Dēcaya, minister of Nādiṇḍla Gōpa, one of the officers of the Vijayanagara Emperor Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, wrote commentaries[11] on all the five *Stavas* noted above. He was the son of Annayāmātya, and a disciple of Candramauḷi, a descendant of Prōlanārādhya and Lolla Lakṣmīdhara. Dēcayāmātya attributes the authorship of the *Mahimna Stava* to Kumārila Bhaṭṭa in his commentary. He refers to the author of the *Anāmaya Stava* as Mahākavi Daṇḍin with the title *padavākya-pramāṇajña.*

OTHER STOTRAS

Besides the above *Stotras,* there are others like *Mayūra Stava, Malayarājīyam* and *Saṁsāramāyā Stava.*

It has not been generally known till now that poet Mayūra was the author of a panegyric called *Mayūra Stava.*[12]

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10. *Purātana Prakaraṇa,* pages 358 to 367.
11. Mss. of Dēcayāmātya's Commentaries on
    i. Nīlakaṇṭha Stava—D.C.S.M., Madras, Vol. XIX, No. 11042, p. 7478.
    ii. Mahimna Stava—*Ibid,* No. 11120, p. 7517.
    iii. Anāmaya Stava—*Ibid,* No. 10912, pp. 7421-22.
    iv. Halāyudha Stava—*Ibid,* No. 11278, p. 7597.
    v. Malahaṇa Stava—*Ibid,* No. 11093, p. 7505.
12. See K. V. R. Ayyangar Com. Vol., pp. 473-6, where there is a note on this Stava.

Only his *Sūrya Śataka* is very widely known. Mayūra, according to tradition, praised Sūrya, the Sun, in order to get cured of leprosy, and achieved his object. But Pālkuṛiki Somanātha's version, given in his *Paṇḍitārādhya Caritra,* differs from the above. According to this work, Mayūra uttered the Śaiva hymn *Mayūra Stava* after his *Sūrya Śataka.* Pleased with Mayūra's eulogy god Sūrya appeared before him and told him that only God Śiva could cure him of his leprosy. He promised, however, that he would bestow upon him some of his *dīpti,* brightness or light, in order to cover his *Veli kuṣṭhu,* outer leprosy, and advised him to sing the glory of God Śiva to get his *lōni kuṣṭhu,* inner leprosy, also cured. It is in these circumstances, we are told, that Mayūra uttered the hymn called *Mayūra Stava* which fulfilled his object.[13]

In this connection it may be interesting to observe the following passage in the valuable introduction to *The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra*[14] by George Payn Quackenbos.

"Scattered through the anthologies............are found (partly) under Mayūra's name, besides quotations from the *Sūrya Śataka,* seventeen different stanzas dealing with miscellaneous subjects. Of these, the most interesting are the seven stanzas, forming one group and illustrative of *Vakrokti* or 'Punning in dialogue'. They picture Śiva and Pārvatī playing with dice, and perhaps formed the introduction to some work by Mayūra, now lost."[15]

Could it be that these stanzas formed part of the *Mayūra Stava?*

The name *Malayarājīyam,* another work referred to by Somanātha, rightly indicates that its author is Malayarāja. A devotional eulogy on Śiva by Malayarāja, called *Malayarāja Stotram* is extant. This appears to be identical with *Malayarājīyam,* a manuscript copy of which is preserved with a commentary in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.[16]

This work gives the following account of Malayarāja. "A king named Devarāja prayed to Śiva for progeny, and on being given the option of having many bad sons of long life

13. *Mahimā Prakaraṇa,* pp. 105 ff.
14. Published as Vol. 9, in the Indo-Iranian Series, Columbia University (1917).
15. *The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra*—Introduction, p. 61.
16. D.C.S.M., Madras, Vol. XIX, No. 11079, p. 7499.

or one good son who would live only for sixteen years, he preferred to have the latter gift. Accordingly, a good son, named Malayarāja, was born, and the story says that, coming to know the short duration of his life, the boy prayed to Śiva in seventy-one stanzas, and secured thereby long life and prosperity."[17]

Somanātha says that Malayarāja went to Kailāsa with all the residents of his town by the grace of Śiva,[18] probably after addressing this eulogy. If this statement is true, this differs a little from the above account.

Another work we come to know of is *Saṃsāramāyā Stava* of unknown authorship. Somanātha mentions many of the works of Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya in his *Paṇḍitārādhya Caritra*, a biography of that Śivācārya. It is not known if this was one of his works.

Besides these *stotras* we find mention of some *gadyas*, panegyrics in prose, *aṣṭakas* and *gītas*, like *Śaṅkaragītamulu* and *Ānandagītamulu*. Neither their authorship nor the language in which they were composed is known to us now.

In the *Paṇḍitārādhya Caritra* mention is made of *Pañca gadyas*, *Bāṇa gadya* and *Kāḷidāsi gadya*, *Vyāsāṣṭaka*, *Brahmēśvarāṣṭaka* and *Haralīlā*. It is not known what these *Pañca gadyas* were and if they included *Bāṇa gadya* and *Kāḷidāsi gadya* also. From the way in which Somanātha mentions *Mayūra Stava*, *Bāṇa gadya* and *Kāḷidāsi gadya* we are led to believe that the authors were contemporaries.[19]

Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa is said to have chopped off his two hands, offered them at the feet of Śiva and praised him in a *gadya* uttering the term *Śivakara* in the end, whereupon his two hands were restored to him.

Similarly Kāḷidāsi—this is the form used by Somanātha for Kālidāsa—is said to have plucked out his two eyes, and worshipped at the feet of God Śiva with them, eulogising Him in a *gadya*, now known as *Kāḷidāsa gadya*. Soon after the completion of that praise, we are told, Kāḷidāsa received from Śiva not his two eyes, but twenty-one eyes in all, which, with

17. *Ibid.*

18. Pd. Cr., I *Purātana prakaraṇa*, p. 40.

19. Pḍ. Cr., II. *Mahimā prakaraṇa*, pp. 106-109.

the exception of two which he kept for himself, he distributed among the blind, and restored their eye-sight.

Kāḷidāsa gadya[20] is an extant work; but *Bāṇa gadya* is not found in the catalogues of manuscripts preserved in the South Indian libraries. There is, however, one work in the Maharaja's Palace Library at Trivandram, which goes by the general name *Śiva stava*,[21] at the end of which is found this passage: "*samasta-lokaikanātha śivakara Śiva namas-te.*" Since Bāṇa bhaṭṭa is stated to have used *śivakara* at the end of his *gadya*, could this work be assigned to him? From the extracts in the descriptive catalogues of the above libraries, *Śiva stava* at Trivandram appears to be the same as *Mahādeva gadya*[22] at Madras. *Mahādeva gadya* is also called sometimes *Bāṇa gadya*[23]. The *Śiva stava* and *Mahādeva gadya* may therefore be the *Bāṇa gadya*.

If *Akṣara gadya* of unknown authorship, which is also mentioned by Somanātha, is added to the two works, *Bāṇa gadya* and *Kālidāsa gadya*, these make three out of the *Pañca gadyas*; what the other two are is not known.

There is a work *Śivotsava gadya* in the Manuscripts Library at Madras. The colophon of this work runs as follows:

श्रीमन्महेश्वरशिष्यो मल्लिकार्जुनपण्डितः श्रीमुखदर्शनगद्यं इदं प्रथितवान् 24.

The author Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita may be identical with Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya of *Paṇḍitārādhya Caritra*. Maheśvara mentioned as the guru of Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita in the colophon quoted above, may probably be the same as Ārādhyadeva, the guru of Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita of Somanātha's above-mentioned work. Somanātha ascribes to Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita a *Śivastava* called *Liṅgodbhavadevara gadya—gadya* on Liṅgodbhavadeva (Śiva). If it were in Sans-

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20. DCSM, Madras, Vol.XIX, No. 10947, p. 7435

21. DCSM, Palace, Trivandrum, Vol. V, No. 1147-6, pp. 1606-07 ff.

22. DCSM, Madras, Vol. XIX, No. 11097, p. 7505.

23. *Ibid.* "Begins on fol. 106 b of the MS. described under No. 119 wherein this work has been mentioned as *Bāṇa gadya* in the list of other works."

24. DCSM, Madras, Vol. XIX, No. 11221, p. 7568.

krit we would be tempted to identify this *gadya* with *Śivastava gadya* mentioned above. But this has to be verified. If this is proved to be his, we would have four out of the *Pañca gadyas* then in vogue.

Vyāsāṣṭaka is extant. Somanātha says that this *aṣṭaka* is found in the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* of the *Skānda Purāṇa.* This is corroborated by a manuscript copy[25] of this work in the Oriental Library, Madras, which states that this forms the 80th adhyāya of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* of the *Sanatkumāra Saṁhitā* of the *Skānda Purāṇa.* This work is styled after its author, Vyāsa, unlike the other aṣṭakas named after the gods praised therein.

Some more works like *Amareśvarāṣṭaka, Haralīlā, Rudramahimā, Gaṇasahasramālā, Śivasahasranāma* and others also are mentioned in the *Paṇḍitārādhya Caritra.* Of these, *Amareśvarāṣṭaka* was composed by Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita himself. He is also said to have composed *Gaṇasahasranāma, Iṣṭaliṅga Stotra* and *Basavagītalu* in Kannaḍa language.

We believe most of the devotional works mentioned in the *Paṇḍitārādhya Caritra* were in Sanskrit. But as the regional languages were chosen by the Śaivite ācāryas to propagate Śaivism in the land, some at least of the Śaivite devotional works might have been in Telugu, though Sanskrit was pre-eminently the language of most of the religious works of the period.

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25. DCSM. Madras, Vol. XIX, No. 11187, p. 7551 : इत्यादिपुराणे स्कान्दे सनत्कुमारसंहितायां काशीखण्डे चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्र्यां व्यासभुजस्तंभो नामाशीतितमोऽध्यायः ।

THE BĀṆA GADYA

On p. 77 of the above article, Sri M. S. Sarma refers to the Trivandrum and Madras mss. of a *Śiva Stava* or *Mahādeva Gadya* which he suggests may be identical with the *Bāṇa Gadya.*

It may be mentioned that a third ms. of it is found in the India Office, London, (IO. Keith, 7112), where the prose hymn is styled *Mahākāḷāspada* and the colophon adds that it is the Gadya composed by Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa: इति भट्टवा(बा)णे(ण)विरचितगद्यं महाकाळास्पदम्...... ।

V. R.

ON THE CONCEPT OF UPAGRAHA AMONG THE VAIYĀKARAṆAS*

BY

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1. The fact that one of the fourteen sections (समुद्देश) of the 3rd Kāṇḍa of the Vākyapadīya is entitled उपग्रहसमुद्देश shows that Bhartṛhari attached some importance to the concept of उपग्रह. The word occurs in the Vārttikas and the Bhāṣya on P. III, 1, 40 and III, 2, 127 and in the Bhāṣya on P. III, 1, 25. According to the Kāśikā on P. VI, 2, 134 the word was found in a variant reading of that sūtra current in those days and the author says that grammarians earlier than Pāṇini used it in the sense of a word ending in the genitive case.[1] The word, however, does not have this meaning in the orthodox Science of Grammar, but even here there is the tradition that it was a technical word used by the Pre-pāṇinian grammarians.[2] Though it is not a commonly used word, it was known to orthodox grammarians from Kātyāyana and Patañjali to Bhoja and Nāgeśa and there seems to be a certain amount of uniformity and consistency in the meaning given to the word. An attempt will be made here to get some idea of the concept for which the word stands in Vaiyākaraṇa literature.

2. Kātyāyana and Patañjali use the word in such a way as to suggest that the word was well-known in their days and did not require any explanation. Even Kaiyyaṭa explains the

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1. चूर्णादीन्यप्राण्युपग्रहादिति सूत्रस्य पाठान्तरम् । तत्रोपग्रह इति षष्ठ्यन्तमेव पूर्वाचार्योपचारेण गृह्यते । Kāśikā on P. VI. 2. 134.

2. पूर्वाचार्यप्रसिद्धयोपग्रहशब्दवाच्योऽयमर्थो व्यवह्रियतेऽत्र शास्त्रे । Helārāja on Vāk. III. 34. 1.

word only once and then he equates it with the word आत्मनेपद.[3] For Jinendrabuddhi, it is more than that. For him उपग्रह primarily means a particular action or a peculiarity in an action suggested by the verbal suffixes. As these suffixes are आत्मनेपद or परस्मैपद the word उपग्रह is secondarily applied to these two kinds of suffixes also.[4]

3. The statement of Jinendrabuddhi that primarily उपग्रह is the name of a particular kind of action or a peculiarity in an action suggested by the verbal suffixes is interesting, because, in that way, it becomes the name of a grammatical notion or idea for which the language has a special means of expression. It is, however, necessary to find out which among the many notions expressed by the verbal suffixes is called उपग्रह and in what circumstances. Apart from the scattered remaks about उपग्रह found in the Vārttikas and the Bhāṣya, it is in the उपग्रहसमुद्देश of the Vākyapadīya that there is the earliest connected and considered statement on the subject.

4. Where a verb is made up of many elements, root, preposition, infix and suffix, and expresses a complexity of ideas, it becomes sometimes difficult to say quite definitely which idea is expressed by which element. This difficulty is reflected in the controversy which has been carried on in grammatical circles as to whether a preposition (उपसर्ग) is expressive or only suggestive (द्योतक). That question can be asked not only about prepositions but about other elements in the verb also. Various meanings have been mentioned by Pāṇini as the occasions for the use of the ātmanepada suffix and it is interesting to note that while some of these are accepted by the commentators as belonging to the ātmanepada suffix itself, others are attributed to the particular preposition which is always used on the same occasion. The Science of Grammar teaches the use of the ātmanepada with particular

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3. उपग्रहप्रतिषेधश्च । Vā on P. III. 2. 127.
उपग्रहस्य च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । Bhāṣya on the above.
आत्मनेपदसंज्ञाया इत्यर्थः । Kaiyaṭa's Pradīpa on the above.

4. लादेशव्यङ्ग्यक्रियाविशेषो मुख्य उपग्रहः । इह तद्व्यक्तिनिमित्तत्वात् परस्मैपदात्मनेपदयोरुपग्रहशब्दो वर्तते । न्यास of जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि on the Kāśikā on P. III. 1. 85.

roots or suffixes or prepositions, or with particular meanings of roots or suffixes or prepositions.[5] Where the śāstra itself associates the special meaning with the root or the preposition or some special suffix, it is necessary to determine the exact part played by the ātmanepada. The problem is further complicated when the ātmanepada, in its capacity as a verbal suffix, expresses various other meanings such as the different points of time and the different moods of the speaker.

5. उपग्रह is said to be अलौकिक, perhaps in the sense that it is recognised by students of languages only or in the Science of Grammar and not by the ordinary man in the world.[6] It is not the name of any one idea or notion. It is the name of a number of notions denoted by the आत्मनेपद or परस्मैपद verbal suffixes. Some of these notions may be expressed by other elements in the word than the आत्मनेपद or परस्मैपद suffixes, but then they are not called उपग्रह. Another noteworthy thing about उपग्रह is that in Grammar it is said to be suggested[7] rather than expressed by the आत्मनेपद or परस्मैपद suffixes. The most important and distinctive notion attributed to the आत्मनेपद or परस्मैपद suffix is that of the fruit of the action denoted by the root coming to the do-er or going to somebody else. The action of one who performs a sacrifice in order to go to heaven is यजते while that of the priest who officiates merely to get his fee is यजति. In the former case the fruit (heaven) of the action denoted by the root यज् comes to the do-er of that action while in the latter it goes to somebody else. The two actions differ from each other in scope and aim (विषय).[8] These two shades of meaning of the same root come under उपग्रह। These two shades can be found in the meanings of a very large

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5. परस्मैपदात्मनेपदोभयपदिनामात्मनेपदोभयपदयोगः षट्प्रकारो भवति, प्रकृतिनिमित्तः, प्रकृत्यर्थनिमित्तः, प्रत्ययनिमित्तः, प्रत्ययार्थनिमित्तः, उपस्कारनिमित्तः, उपस्कारार्थनिमित्तश्च। Sṛṅgāra Prakāśa V. p. 188 (manuscript).

6. इदानीमाख्यातार्थमुपग्रहं विचारयितुं स्वरूपमस्यालौकिकत्वात् प्रदर्शयति। Helārāja on Vāk. III. उप. 1

7. आत्मनेपदपरस्मैपदव्यङ्ग्यः कर्त्रभिप्रायतदितरादिरूपो विशेषो यः क्रियायाः साधनस्य स उपग्रह इति पूर्वाचार्यैरभ्युपगतः। Ibid. III. उप. I.

8. विषयविशेषाश्रयेण भिद्यते क्रिया। Ibid. III. उप. 3.

number of roots in the Sanskrit language. They are, therefore, the most comprehensive of all the notions coming under उपग्रह. Though, ordinarily, they are expressed by the two kinds of suffixes under discussion, these may be dispensed with if something else can do their work. Thus in स्वं यज्ञं यजति the idea that the fruit of the action of performing a sacrifice comes to the sacrificer is indicated by the word स्वम् in the sentence. Hence the आत्मनेपद has been dispensed with.[9] Another idea which is sufficiently comprehensive, because applicable to the meanings of a very large number of roots, is that of somebody doing the work of somebody else, कर्मव्यतिहार, as in व्यतिलुनीते=one does the cutting which somebody else should do. The Bālamanoramā explains: शूद्रादियोग्यं सस्यादिलवनं ब्राह्मणः करोति.[10] This idea can be found even where the आत्मनेपद is absent: व्यतिपठन्ति=they read what others should be reading. One can legitimately ask whether the combination of the prepositions वि and अति is not really the expressive element here but the Sanskrit grammatical tradition gives the credit to the आत्मनेपद or परस्मैपद. What we have to note here is that this idea also comes under उपग्रह. It is a क्रियाविशेषण, a way of doing things.[11] कर्मव्यतिहार includes also the idea of mutuality of action as in संप्रहरन्ते राजानः=the kings strike one another. That would also come under the idea of उपग्रह though here also one can legitimately ask whether the idea of mutuality would be conveyed if the preposition 'सम्' were absent. Sometimes certain roots, in combination with particular prepositions, denote a particular kind of action and take the आत्मनेपद suffix: उत्कुरुते=he gives an indication maliciously (गन्धन). The idea expressed is not comprehensive at all, because it cannot be expressed by the other roots in the language. Here one is definitely inclined to give credit for the expression of the idea to the combination of preposition and root rather than to the suffix. In other words, the expression of the idea has a

9. विभाषोपपदेन प्रतीयमाने । P. I. 3. 77.

10. कर्तरि कर्मव्यतिहारे । P. I. 3.14 and Bālamanoramā thereon.

11. व्यतिहारस्तु क्रियाविशेषणमात्मनेपदाभिव्यङ्ग्यमुपग्रहः ।
Helārāja on Vāk. III. उप. 4.

lexical rather than a morphological significance. The traditional view is that the idea actually belongs to the root and preposition but that it is the suffix which reveals it.[12] Such ideas belonging to particular roots also come under उपग्रह.

We have seen so far that the ideas coming under उपग्रह are either attributes of actions or special ways of doing things or particular kinds of actions. Auxiliaries of actions also come under it. In एधते and याति, the two kinds of suffixes express the idea of agent (कर्ता); in पच्यते the ātmanepada expresses the idea of karma. Both कर्ता and कर्म are therefore included under उपग्रह. They are so only because they are expressed by the आत्मनेपद or परस्मैपद। In पठित the suffix क्त expresses the idea of कर्म but this does not come under उपग्रह। In पाचक, the suffix ण्वुल् expresses the idea of कर्ता but this does not come under उपग्रह either. Even an implied attribute of the agent, if somehow associated with the आत्मनेपद can come under उपग्रह। In संप्रवदन्ते ब्राह्मणाः='the Brāhmaṇas utter together' the verb gets the आत्मनेपद suffix because the uttering together is done by articulate beings, the Brāhmaṇas. The fact of being articulate is an attribute of the agents of the act of uttering. This attribute also comes under उपग्रह.[13]

We have seen that of the many ideas coming under the concept of उपग्रह, the most comprehensive is that of the fruit of the action coming to the agent or going to somebody else. This implies two motives in the performance of an action: one acts for oneself or for somebody else. The sacrificer acts in order that he may get the fruit (heaven) himself whereas the officiating priest acts in order that somebody else may get the fruit. Some people did not admit this distinction of motives. They maintained that in the last resort, everybody acts for himself. But, then, when we are in the realm of words, the

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12. गन्धनावक्षेपणादयः क्रियाविशेषा धातुवाच्याः सन्तोऽपि विनात्मनेपदमनभिव्यक्ता इति आत्मनेपदाभिव्यङ्ग्यत्वादुपग्रहशब्दवाच्या भवन्ति।

Helārāja on Vāk. III उप. 4.

13. व्यक्ता वाग् येषां व्यक्ता वाचि (वर्णाः) वा येषां ते व्यक्तवाचो धात्वर्थे समुच्चारणार्थकं विशिंषन्तोऽपि साधनस्य कर्तुः विशेषणं सामर्थ्याद् भवन्तो भवन्त्युपग्रहशब्दवाच्याः। तद् यथा संप्रवदन्ते ब्राह्मणा इति।

Helā. on Vāk. III. उप. 2.

question is not whether there is, in reality, a distinction of motives or not, but how words present things. Verbs sometimes present actions in such a manner as to imply that the agent wants the ultimate fruit to come to himself, while, at other times, they present them in such a manner as to imply that the ultimate fruit goes to somebody else. From पचते we understand that one cooks in order that one may ultimately eat the food that is cooked. The emphasis is not on one's actually doing oneself the various little acts which constitute the act of cooking. One may get them all done by somebody else and yet one would be said to be cooking, because one is ultimately going to eat the food that is cooked. देवदत्तः पचते therefore, means: Devadatta makes arrangements for cooking, whereas देवदत्तः पचति would mean that Devadatta actually cooks.[14] In other words, आत्मनेपद expresses the idea of making arrangements for the performance of an action the ultimate result of which one would enjoy oneself. From यजते we understand similarly that the sacrificer (यजमान) makes all the necessary arrangements for the performance of a sacrifice in order that he may ultimately enjoy the fruit thereof, namely heaven. आत्मनेपद, therefore, stands for संविधान or making arrangements.

Now it becomes necessary to distinguish this idea from the meaning of णिच् which is that somebody causes somebody else to act. Making arrangements or संविधान also implies that somebody causes somebody else to act. But it is different from the meaning of णिच् which does not come under उपग्रह। From the word यजते what we understand is that somebody, desirous of getting the main fruit of the sacrifice, brings about the performance of it. There is what is called the भावना of याग and in this भावना it is but natural that the agent should be one who acts on his own. He makes arrangements for performing the sacrifice (संविधान). This, of course, involves making other people do things, but that is not directly understood from the word itself. From the word याजयति, on the other hand, one

14. पचति देवदत्त इति अधिश्रयति उदकमासेचयति इत्याद्यर्थः । पचते देवदत्त इति संभारं ढौकयतीत्यर्थः । Helā. on Vāk. III, उप. 8.

understands that one causes another to act. This being the difference between the two actions, they are not alternative ways of saying the same thing. Their scope is different. आत्मनेपद expressess संविधान and णिच् expresses प्रैष.[15] Where we understand that one acts being prompted by another, there cannot be आत्मनेपद as in उक्तः करोति, प्रेषितः करोति etc. Similarly, the difference between अजां नयति ग्रामम् and अजां नयते ग्रामम्, according to Helārāja, is that, from the former, we understand that somebody like a servant is taking the goat to the village on the prompting of another, whereas from the latter one understands that the owner is taking the goat to the village on his own.[16]

The illusion that the ātmanepada and णिच् have the same scope and are, therefore, interchangeable arises from the failure to make a distinction between what a word conveys directly and what is understood from the sentence or from the context. If Kadrū says to Vinatā: स्वात्मानं क्रीणीष्व= "buy yourself off", the ātmanepada in क्रीणीष्व comes because the ultimate fruit of the buying off, namely, freedom from slavery, would go to the agent of the action of buying off, namely, Vinatā. But from the context we know that Vinatā cannot buy herself off. So what the sentence ultimately means is: पुत्रैरात्मानं दास्यान्मोचय, क्रापय="make your sons free you from slavery, buy you off. This involves the idea of somebody making somebody else do something and that is just the meaning of णिच्. But this idea is not directly expressed here. It only comes from the context and that is why the suffix णिच् is not used here.[17] णिच् comes in where this idea is directly expressed. In that case the idea would get the name of प्रैष

15. तदेवं भिन्नविषये णिजात्मनेपदे, संविधाने आत्मनेपदं तद्विशेषे तु प्रैषे णिजिति । Ibid. III उप. 6.

16. अजां नयति ग्राममित्यत्र धात्वर्थप्रैषमात्रविवक्षायां भृत्ये कर्तर्यात्मनेपदं न भवति, धात्वर्थविषयापरप्रैषविवक्षायां तु स्वामिनिकर्तरि भवत्यात्मनेपदम्, अजां नयते ग्राममिति । Ibid. III. उप. 6.

17. तथा च पुत्रैरात्मानं दास्यान्मोचय क्रापयेत्ययमर्थोऽस्य क्रीणीष्वेति पदस्य प्रकरणसामर्थ्यपर्यालोचनाल्लभ्य इति न पदार्थविषयेणात्मनेपदेनात्र णिच् समानविषय इति । Ibid, III, उप. 7.

But where the idea is only inferred from the context and the directly expressed idea is that the agent makes arrangements to have an act done and the fruit ultimately comes to him, there आत्मनेपद is used. Another example is: केशश्मश्रु वपते="he shaves his hair and beard." Here आत्मनेपद is seen in वपते because the ultimate result will go to the agent of 'shaves.' But from the context we know that he does not actually do the shaving himself but gets a barber to do it. This is not openly expressed but only understood from the context. That is why there is no णिच् but आत्मनेपद instead.[18] णिच् is used only when the fact of the agent being a प्रयोजक is openly expressed and not merely understood from the context.[19]

Though the idea of the fruit of the action coming to the agent is a sufficiently comprehensive one, Helārāja makes it clear that the meaning of all roots are not susceptible to this idea. Two roots may have the same meaning and yet one of them may be susceptible to it and not the other. The idea of the fruit of the action coming to the agent implies संविधान or making arrangements as was pointed out before. It was also shown that संविधान and प्रैष, the meanings of णिच्, are allied ideas. And yet the meaning of practically all roots are susceptible of being modified or qualified by the idea of प्रैष but they are not all susceptible of being modified by the idea of संविधान[20]. This is due to the essential nature of language which is not a matter of logic. In the धातुपाठ the roots या and नी are given as having the same meaning: या प्रापणे, णीञ् प्रापणे। And yet the meaning of the latter is susceptible of being

18. एवं केशश्मश्रु वपत इति प्रयोगो भ्रान्तिबीज दृश्यते। तथा हि— वपते वपनं मुण्डनमन्येन कारयतीत्यर्थः। इति णिजात्मनेपदे समानविषये मन्यन्ते। अत्र च तिङन्तात् कर्तृगामि क्रियाफल प्रतीयत इत्यात्मनेपदं सामर्थ्यात् तु स्वयमशक्तोऽन्यं प्रयुङ्क्ते इत्यवगम्यते। Ibid. III. उप. 7.

19. न संविधानमेव प्रैषः। अपि तु तत्पूर्वकं प्रेरणंयत् कुर्वन् प्रयोजक इत्युच्यते। संविधानं हि कुर्वन्नपि यावत् प्रेषणं नाचरति न तावत् प्रयोजकः कथ्यते। Ibid. III. उप. 8.

20. न हि सर्वे धातवो ण्यर्थेन संगच्छन्ते इत्येतावता संविधानाभिधायिनोऽपि स्युः। शक्तिभेदात्। प्रैषो हि ण्यर्थः। संविधानं ततोऽन्यत्। Ibid. III. उप. 13.

associated and modified by the idea of संविधान and, therefore, to be expressed by the आत्मनेपद, as in the expression: अजां नयते ग्रामम्। But we cannot say याते[21]. It is in order to help those who cannot find out by examining usage which root is susceptible and which not that the circumflex accent and the letter ञ् have been added to roots which are so susceptible.[22] Some can, of course, understand this from usage itself and they do not need any such indication. They are प्रयोगदर्शिनः or वृत्तज्ञाः and are to be distinguished from वचनानुसारिणः those who follow the words of teachers[23]. It is not only in this respect that roots having the same meaning behave differently. By adding the same उपसर्ग to roots having the same meaning, one will not get the same result. दृश् and ईक्ष् have the same meaning but प्रतीक्ष् and प्रतिदृश् have not. रक्षति and पालयति have the same meaning, but not प्रतिरक्षति and प्रतिपालयति। हरति and नयति may mean the same thing, but not संहरति and संनयति। This is due to शब्दशक्ति which is not a matter of logic, but of usage.[24]

We have seen that, of the ideas which come under उपग्रह some can be expressed by verbal forms only while others like the ideas of somebody doing the action of somebody else or of

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21. या प्रापणे, णीञ् प्रापणे इति तुल्येऽप्यर्थनिर्देशे यातेः प्राप्तिः प्रापणमर्थः। नयतेस्तु प्रापणाप्रापणमिति संविधानमर्थोऽवगम्यते।

Ibid. III. उप. 12.

22. ये तु संविधानसमर्थास्ते स्वरितेत्संज्ञका ञकारेत्संज्ञकाश्च पठिता धातुपाठे संविधानविशिष्टक्रियावचनसामर्थ्यमवद्योतयितुमित्यर्थः।

Ibid. III. उप. 11.

23. तथा च प्रयोगदर्शिनं च प्रति स्वरितञिद्ग्रहणं शक्यमकर्तुमिति प्रत्याख्यायत एतद्भाष्ये। वचनानुसारिणं तु प्रति क्रियत एवतेत्।

Ibid. III. उप. 12.

24. गणपठितेऽर्थे समानेऽपि ईक्षते पश्यतीत्यनयोः प्रतिपूर्वयोर्नाभेदो न समानार्थता, अपि तु प्रतीक्षत इत्यन्य एवार्थः प्रतिपालनं नाम। प्रतिपश्यतीति प्रतीपदर्शनमर्थः। दृशीक्षी चोपलक्षणं रक्षतिपालयत्योरपि प्रतिरक्षति प्रतिपालयतीत्यन्य एवार्थः। एवं हरतिनयत्योः सम्पूर्वयोः संहरति संनयतीत्याद्युदाहार्यम्।

Ibid, III, उप. 13.

mutuality of action or of कर्ता and कर्म can be expressed by nouns also. The idea of the fruit of the action coming to the do-er can come from a verbal form like यजते only, whereas both व्यतिलुनीते and व्यतिलवनं can express the idea of somebody doing the action of another, just as both संप्रहरन्ते and संप्रहरणं can express the idea of mutuality of action. The idea of the fruit of the action coming to the do-er or going to somebody else stands, therefore, apart from the others, though all of them have been included under उपग्रह. That idea is something like what modern linguists call 'aspect' of the verb, of which there are many kinds and to express which some languages have special morphemes. 'Aspect' stands for certain ideas, apart from the different points of time or the tenses which verbs express in some languages and which some linguists consider to be the original meanings of verbs out of which the tenses developed later. Jespersen has brought the following notions under 'aspect' : (1) the tempo-distinction between the aorist and the imperfect, (2) the distinction between conclusive and non-conclusive, (3) that between durative or permanent and punctual or transitory, (4) that between finished and unfinished, (5) that between what takes place only once and repeated or habitual action, (6) that between stability and change, (7) that between the implication or non-implication of a result.[25] The distinction between the result of the action coming to the do-er of an action or going to somebody else can be added to the list. उपग्रह would thus be the Sanskrit word for 'aspect'. For the French language, Brunot points out the following aspects: (1) that of accomplishment in the future or the past, (2) that of beginning, (3) that of development in the past, (4) that of duration in the past, (5) that of repetition in the past, (6) that of habit.[26] Each language has its own. The object of this paper is only to draw the attention of scholars to the fact that ancient Sanskrit Grammarians had a glimpse of it and they had coined a word for it also, namely, उपग्रह. From what has been said above it is clear that उपग्रह includes something more than what can legitimately come under 'aspect', but the thing to note is that it includes at least one idea which comes distinctly under 'aspect'.

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25. Jesperson, Philosophy of Grammar, pp. 286-88.
26. Brunot, La Pensée et la langue, pp. 450ff.

NEW FACTS ABOUT THE REIGN OF EASTERN CHALUKYA KALI-VISHNUVARDHANA

BY

N. Lakshminarayan Rao, *Ootacamund*

Most of the copper-plate charters of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty which give the genealogy of the line tell us that Kali-Vishṇuvardhana was the 12th ruler of the line and was the son of Narēndramṛigarāja-Vijayāditya II. According to these records he reigned for about 18 months. Fleet who fixed the initial year of Eastern Chālukya rule in Vēṅgi at 615 A.D. assigned the date 843-44 A.D. to this king's reign.[1] According to fresh discoveries the starting point of the chronology of this family may have to be fixed at 624 A.D.[2] Taking this date as the starting point and accepting the periods of reign assigned by Fleet to the rulers of this family down to Kali-Vishṇuvardhana we get 852-53 A.D. as his date. But we know that his grandson Bhīma I was crowned in the year 892 A.D.; this fact is recorded in Bhīma's own Attili grant. Accordingly, deducting 44 years of rule given to his father Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III, we would get 847-48 A.D. as the initial date of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya, or in other words, the last date of Kali-Vishṇuvardhana. If, however, we assign on the authority of some charters of this family a rule of only 40 years to Narēndramṛigarāja-Vijayāditya II instead of 44 as was done by Fleet, we arrive approximately at the same date, *i.e.*, 848-49 A.D.[3] Therefore, the date of Kali-Vishṇuvardhana must be placed between these two limits, 847-48 and 852-53 A.D.

All the facts known about this king were derived up till now from inscriptions, mostly on copper-plates, issued by his successors. Some scholars, however, consider that the grant from 'Ahadanakaram' issued by a Vishṇuvardhana, son of a Vijayāditya and a grandson of a Vishṇuvardhana belongs to

1. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX, p. 12.

2. *Ancient India*, No. 5 (1949), p. 49.

3. It should be noted, however, that we get this date only if we take the reign of Jayasiṁha I as having lasted for 30 years as assigned by Fleet and not 33 years which some charters give as the period of reign of this ruler.

his reign.[1] In this family there were other princes named Vishṇuvardhana, the names of whose father and grandfather were also Vijayāditya and Vishṇuvardhana respectively. Nor does the charter call him Kali-Viṭṭarasa, a name which was borne by him alone and none other in the family. Further the grant itself does not afford any other conclusive proof to establish the identity of the king who issued it. Consequently, scholars have expressed doubts whether the 'Ahadanakaram' plates constitute a record of Kali-Vishṇuvardhana at all.[2] Two other grants[3] also issued by a Vishṇuvardhana, son of a Vijayāditya and grandson of a Vishṇuvardhana have been doubtfully assigned to the reign of this king. But even they do not contain any evidence that they were issued by him.

Recently, however, a copper-plate grant[4] issued by Vishṇuvardhana was discovered at Cheruvu-Mādhavaram, Krishna District. This Vishṇuvardhana is described in this record as the son of a Vijayāditya and a grandson of a Vishṇuvardhana and is specifically called Kali-Viṭṭarasa, leaving no doubt that he is identical with Kali-Vishṇuvardhana. Thus this charter may be regarded as the only inscription definitely assignable to his reign. Besides this, a stone inscription[5] mentioning him by his distinguishing name Kali-Viṭṭarasa has also been discovered at Guṇḍlāpalle in the Ongole *taluk* of the Guntur District. This stone record, it appears, belongs to the reign of his father, Narēndramṛigarāja-Vijayāditya II, though the donation recorded therein was made by a queen of Kali-Viṭṭarasa. Before discussing the new facts contained in these inscriptions pertaining to this prince, we may recount the information already known about him.

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1. Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 102; *Bhārati*, Vol. V, pt ii, p. 97.

2. See *e.g.* *Bhārati*, Vol. I, pt. ii, No. 12, p. 92; Some have even assigned it to Vishṇuvardhana III—M. S. Sarma, *Bhārati*, Vol. I, pt. ii, No. 12, p. 93.

3. C. P. No. 6 of 1913-14 and No. 2 of 1914-15.

4. This is reviewed in the *An. Rep. on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1953-54.

5. This is reviewed in the *An. Rep. on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1951-52.

Inscriptions of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III[1] state in unequivocal terms that he was the son of Kali-Viṭṭarasa and Śīlamahādēvī of the Rāhsṭrakūṭa family. Some of them which call Śīlamahādēvī as Śīlakāṁbā,[2] Śīlakā[3] or Śīlakka[4] state explicity that she was the daughter of king Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family. One of these furnishes the information that she was born of Indrarāja and Paramakāṁbā.[5] As noted above, Kali-Vishṇuvardhana reigned sometime between 847-848 and 852-853 A.D. At this period the only Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Rāshṭrakūṭa royal family who could have given his daughter in marriage to Kali-Viṭṭarasa was Indrarāja, the brother of Gōvinda III and the founder of the Gujarat branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭa line. Though we have no records as yet of this Indra he must have flourished a little before 811-12 A.D. on which date his son Karka is known to have been ruling. In this connection it is interesting to note that Dhruva, the father of this Indra, had a queen named Śīlamahādēvī, daughter of Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana-Viṭṭarasa[6], evidently an Eastern Chālukya prince. It, therefore, looks very probable that Indra named his daughter after his mother (or step-mother).

Another fact already known about Kali-Vishṇuvardhana is the duration of his reign. Some records[7] giving the reign periods of the kings of the family say that he ruled for a year and a half or eighteen months, while a few others

1. C. P. No. 3 of 1908-9 and C. P. No. 5 of 1911-12.

2. C. P. No. 3 of 1938-39.

3. Sīsali Plates of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III, *Bhārati*, Vol. XXIII, pt. i, p. 484; C. P. No. 3 of 1912-13.

4. *ASPP*, Vol. I, p. 140.

5. C. P. No. 3 of the *An. Rep. on S.I.E.* for the year 1938-39. In the *An. Rep* (p. 72) the name of Śīlakāṁbā's father has been wrongly given as Chandrarāja. Since the correct reading of the relevant passage is *Jātā Paramakāṁbāyāś=ch=Ēndrarājasya ch=ātmajā*, it becomes clear that the name of this ruler is Indrarāja as found in the two grants noticed above and not Chandrarāja.

6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 99.

7. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 102.

state that his reign lasted for twenty months.[1] This small difference of two months does not materially affect the different sets of dates assigned to this ruler.

The additional information that we gather about this ruler from the newly discovered copper-plate inscription, *viz.*, the Cheruvu-Mādhavaram plates mentioned above and the Guṇḍlāpalle stone record may now be set forth. The copper charter furnishes the genealogy of Kali-Vishṇuvardhana for three generations and says that he was the grandson of Vishṇuvardhana and the son of Vijayāditya. It records that Kali-Vishṇuvardhana installed a *liṅga* called Nagarēśvara-Bhaṭṭāraka and constructed a stone temple for the deity, at Vijayavāṭapura. Vijayavāṭapura mentioned here is doubtless the modern Vijayawada (Bezwada) in the Krishna District. It may be noted here that the name of this place also occurs in the form Pechchevāḍa in the well known Kirātārjuna-Pillar inscription on the Indrakīla hill at Bezwada[2] of the same period as that of Kali-Vishṇuvardhana, *i.e.*, 9th century A.D. As in the case of many place-names the original name of this town might have been Pechchevāḍa or Bejavāḍa[3] of which Vijayavāḍa,[4] Vijayavāṭa[5] or Vijayavāṭikā[6] is no doubt the Sanskritised form. The most important point in the charter under study is that Vikramāditya-Bhūpati, the *ājñapti* of the grant is stated to be the maternal uncle of Vishṇuvardhana, *i.e.*, Kali-Vishṇuvardhana. That Vikramāditya is styled *Bhūpati* indicates that he was a scion of a royal family. But the family to which he or his sister, *i.e.*, the mother of Kali-Vishṇuvardhana belonged, cannot be ascertained as we have so far no reference even to the name of this lady or to that of her family. The name Vikramāditya was, however, common in several ruling families of the south, the Bāṇas, the Vaidumbas and the Chōḷas of Rēnāṇḍu.

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1. Ponangi Plates of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya, C. P. No. 30 of 1908-9; Sīsali Plates of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III, *Bhārati*, Vol. XXIII, pt. 1, p. 484.

2. *SII*, Vol. X, No. 33.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 157.

4. Uruvuṭūru grant of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya, *An. Rep. on S.I.E.*, 1913, part II, para 64.

5. Cheruvu-Mādavaram copper plates under review.

6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 273.

The stone inscription from Guṇḍlāpalle refers to a gift of land made by Kaḍeyarāja on behalf of Aytakavvāru, the wife (*Dēvī*) of Kali-Viṭraja who does not bear any titles usually applied to a ruling sovereign. Evidently, therefore, he was still only a prince at the time the gift was made. This conclusion is also, probably, strengthened by the fact that Kaḍeyarāja who actually conveyed the deed of gift describes himself in the record as 'the bee at the lotus feet of Vijayāditya' who seems to be the king wielding authority at the time. This Vijayāditya is thus more likely to be Kali-Viṭraja's father, Narēndramṛigarāja-Vijayāditya II. In this case Kaḍeyarāja may be identified with the homonymous official who was the father of Paṇḍaraṅga, the famous general of Kali-Viṭraja's son and successor Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III. Aytakavvāru, the wife of Kali-Viṭraja was not known hitherto. The only queen of Kali-Vishṇuvardhana whose name had been revealed by inscriptions was Śīlaṁahādēvī, the mother of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III. Therefore, Kali-Vishṇuvardhana had at least two wives, Śīlamahādēvī and Aytakavvā. Another new name brought to light by the Guṇḍlapālle record is Trikōṭirāja at whose request Kaḍeyarāja made the gift.

KING BHOJA AND HIS WORKS ON DHARMAŚĀSTRA AND ASTROLOGY

BY

MM. P. V. KANE

Numerous works[1] on different branches of Sanskrit literature are ascribed to Bhojadeva such as on Poetics (*viz.*, Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa and Śṛṅgāraprakāśa), on Grammar (Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa), on Śilpa, painting and architecture (Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra edited by Ganapati Sastri in the G.O.S.), a commentary on Yogasūtra (Rājamārtaṇḍa),[2] Tattvaprakāśa (on Śaivāgama published in the T. S. S), a work on Astronomy called Rājamṛgāṅka composed about 1042-43 A D., and Yuktikalpataru on Rājanīti edited by Dr. N. N. Law (Calcutta, 1917). That he composed some extensive work on Law and Administration of justice follows from the numerous references to him in the Mitākṣarā, Smṛticandrikā and other works (*vide* H. of Dh., Vol. I, pp. 276-278). Recently in the critical edition of the Śāntiparvan published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute (Chap. 121. 14-15), the commentary Durghaṭārthaprakāśikā[3] cites the lengthy explanation of the one and a half verses beginning with 'Yatra śyāmo lohitākṣaḥ' given by the Vyavāharamañjarī of Bhojadeva. From this we come to know that at least one

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1. *Vide* Introduction (pp. XV-XVI) to the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa by Dr. T. R. Chintamani (Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 11, 1937) and Dr. V. Raghavan, Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa, Vol. I. p. 5, fn. 2, for a long list of works ascribed to Bhoja.

2. In the Commentary on Yogasūtra he mentions (4th verse in Introduction) that he composed a work on Grammar, a commentary on Patañjali's Yogasūtra and a work on medicine called Rājamṛgāṅka.

3. The ms. of the commentary is D. C. No. 84 of 1869-70 and I have gone over the whole of it carefully. The important remark is on folio 63*b* 'अयं च सार्धश्लोको भोजदेवेन व्यवहारमञ्जर्यामन्यथा व्याख्यातः' and on the very next page (folio 64*a*) the com. says: 'अयं च पक्षो बहुभिर्धारेश्वरादिभिरपि निबन्धकैरनुमत इति यथेष्टं व्यवहर्तव्यमिति ।' The verse यत्र श्यामो लोहिताक्षः occurs in several works such as Manu VII.25, Matsya Purāṇa 225.8, and Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra V. 95.

work called *Vyavahāramañjarī* composed or compiled by Dhāreśvara Bhojadeva existed long ago.[4]

In the present paper I propose to deal with several works of Bhojadeva concerned with astrological matters in relation to topics of Dharmaśāstra. The earliest work of this type ascribed to Bhoja is the one called Bhīmaparākrama.[5] This work is thrice mentioned by name and quoted by the Bhujabalanibandha to be described a little later on. I have not been able to secure any ms. of the Bhīmaparākrama. Aufrecht in his Catalogue does not refer to any ms. of this work, but only mentions digests where the Bhīmaparākrama is quoted. The three groups of verses quoted by Bhujabalanibandha[6] as from the Bhīmaparākrama are cited in the note below.[7] The first group of

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4. *Vide* Dr. Derret's remarks on this passage in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. 15, pp. 598-602.

5. Dr. Raghavan has drawn attention to the fact that, according to Ājada, commentator on Bhoja's Sarasvatī Kaṇṭhābharaṇa, each of the 84 works of Bhoja was called after one of the titles or *birudas* of Bhoja, *Vide* Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa I. p. 5 fn. 2.

6. There is only a single ms. of the Bhujabalanibandha so far known, *viz.*, the one described in the Triennial Catalogue of Madras Government Mss. Library, 1919-1922, p. 4562, No. 3079. As the original ms. could not be secured for study a transcript of it was made for the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, which I have used in this paper. The references are to the pages of the transcript in the B.O.R.I. The original ms. does not count the verses, which I have counted and it is possible that I may have committed a mistake here and there in counting.

7. भुजबल. P. 10

(*a*) भीमपराक्रमः—

भृगुजीवेन्दुजेन्दूनां वाराः सर्वत्र सिद्धिदाः ।
सूर्यसौरारवारास्तु शस्ताः स्वोक्तेषु कर्मसु ॥

तथा—

कुसुम्भलाक्षारसरागक्लृप्तो मञ्जिष्ठरागेषु रविः प्रशस्तः ।
भौमस्तु चामीकरभूषणेषु सौरिस्तु कालायसकर्मणीषु (? कर्मसु स्यात्) ॥

आर means Mars and सौरि is Saturn.

(*b*) भुजबल. P. 38. भीमपराक्रमे—

पूर्वस्यां दिशि शूलिनी समुदिता विष्टिश्चतुर्थ्यां तथा-
प्यष्टम्यां विकटा युता शनिदिशि (? हुताशनदिशि) स्यादर्थनाशंकरी ।

two verses, that in fn. 7-a declare that Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday always lead to fulfilment of actions undertaken and the other three week days are to be employed only when expressly stated, that the Sun is recommended for dyes made from Kusumbha, lac and mañjiṣṭhā, Mars for ornaments of gold and Saturn for work in which iron enters. The next group of two verses deals with the terrifying effects of the *karaṇa* called Viṣṭi. A very curious state of things is that the two lengthy verses about viṣṭi are found in the ms. of Rājamārtaṇḍa (verses 1021-22). Not only so, many verses quoted as those of the Bhīmaparākrama and the Bhujabalanibandha are found in the Rājamārtaṇḍa or *vice versa* as the sequel will show. The probable explanation of this will be offered later on.

The Ekādaśītattva of Raghunandana (p. 6, Jivananda's edition) quotes a verse of Bhīmaparākrama on Saṅkrānti. That verse is quoted in the Varṣakriyākaumudī (p. 215) as from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa.[9] It will later on be shown that the Bhujabalanibandha and the Rājamārtaṇḍa borrow without

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याम्यायामथ भानवी समुदिता नूनं तथैकादशी
नैर्ऋत्यां च करालघोरवदना सा भुज्यते (? भूतेश्वरी) पौर्णिमा ॥
वारुण्यां च सुदारुणा प्रकथिता कृष्णे तृतीया पुनः
सप्तम्यां वरखड्गपाणिविभवा वायव्यतो दृश्यते ।
कौबेर्यां दिशि सुघोरवदना (? कौबेर्यां दशमीषु घोरवदना) यातोदये सर्वदा
चैशान्यां यमदूतिका प्रकथिता प्राप्ता तिथिं भूतिजाम् ॥

(c) भुजबल. P. 194. भीमपराक्रमे—
पित्र्यं पौष्णं नैर्ऋतं चापि धिष्ण्यं
त्यक्त्वा नारीं सुप्रसन्नः प्रसन्नाम् ।
पृष्ठे या मां (? क्षामां) पुत्रकामो हि गच्छेत्
सल्लक्षण्यं पुत्रमाप्नोति पुण्यम् ॥

8. उपोष्यैव च संक्रान्त्यां स्नात्वा योऽभ्यर्चयेद्रविम् ।
स्नातः पञ्चोपचारेण स कामफलमाप्नुयात् ॥ इति
भीमपराक्रमैकवाक्यतया etc. एकादशीतत्त्व (p. 6). वर्षक्रियाकौमुदी (p. 215) quotes this verse from भविष्यपुराण (with slight variations). It should be noted that the कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन (pp. 388-389) quotes this verse as occurring in a work called समुच्चय. This appears to be भूपालकृत्यसमुच्चय (for which see towards the end of this paper). The readings in कालविवेक are योऽर्चयते रविम्, प्रातः for स्नातः and काम्यं फलम् ।

acknowledgment numerous verses from Varāhamihira's works, from Manu, Purāṇas and others. It is therefore quite possible that the Bhīmaparākrama took over a verse from the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa. About twelve verses are quoted from the Bhīmaparākrama by the Śuddhikaumudī and in most of these the quotation is preceded or followed by a verse or verses from the Rājamārtaṇḍa. The verse 'vivāha-cūḍā' apparently quoted from Bhīmaparākrama in Śuddhikaumudī, p. 223, is Rājamārtaṇḍa folio 67, verse 1057. A verse quoted from the Bhīmaparākrama by the Śuddhikaumudī, p. 229, is almost the same as a verse in Bhujabala.[8a] The Tithitattva[9] (Vol. I, p. 150) quotes a verse from the Bhīmaparākrama on Sankrānti. The Malamāsatattva[10] (Vol. I, p. 828) quotes two verses from the Bhīmaparākrama on Jupiter being in Leo, and the same Tattva appears to quote (p. 788) a prose passage from it.[11] The commentary of Mahādeva on the Ratnamālā of

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8a. मह्मातिचारे वर्षपर्यन्तं कर्मलोपमाह भीमपराक्रमे—

' कृत्वातिचारं यदि पूर्वगेहं
न याति मन्त्री विबुधाधिपानाम् ।
यानं विवाहं व्रतचौडगेहं
वर्षं तदा हन्ति मतं मुनीनाम् ॥'

शुद्धिकौ. p. 229. This is the same as भुजबल p. 273 verse 1234. (Reads पूर्वराशिं for पूर्वगेहं and यात्राविवाहं व्रतबन्धतोयं सर्वम् ।

9. अर्धरात्रे व्यतीते तु संक्रान्तिर्यदि भवेत् ।
पूर्वे व्रतादिकं कुर्यात् परेद्युः स्नानदानयोः ॥

इति भीमपराक्रमीयम् । तिथितत्त्व p. 150.

10. भीमपराक्रमे—

वापीकूपतटाकादि निषिद्धं सिंहगे गुरौ ।
मकरस्थे ततः कार्यं न दोषः कालक्षेपतः ॥
कार्यं मकरगे जीवे विवाहाद्यखिलं बुधैः ।
न तु सिंहगते जीवे कुर्याद्विप्रः कथञ्चन ॥

मलमासतत्त्व p. 828. These two occur in the भुजबल p. 274 verses 1237-38 (except that it reads जीवे कुतो मृत्युमवाप्नुयात् ।)

11. मलमासतत्त्व p. 788. अथाधिमासे विवाहादिनिषेधः । भीमपराक्रमे— अधिमासे विवाहयात्रां चूडां तथोपनयनादि कुर्यान्न सावकाशं माङ्गल्यं न तु विशेषयाह ।

Śrīpati quotes a verse from the Bhīmaparākrama about the lords of the ṛtus (seasons).[12] In the commentary called Mārtaṇḍavallabha (composed in 1573 A D.) on the Muhūrtamārtaṇḍa in the BBRAS collection of mss. a half verse is quoted from the Bhīmaparākrama[13] to the effect that when a bridegroom is taking his recently married bride (to his own village or place) the usual astrological rule that one should not proceed on a journey when one has to face Venus does not hold good. The Bhīmaparākrama is quoted about fifty times in the several Tattvas of Raghunandana.[14] Some quotations have already been cited above. The Jyotistattva quotes from it on pp. 571, 581, 594 (two verses), 606 (three verses, one of which occurs also on p. 594), 608 (two verses), 614, 621 (ten verses), 630 (two), 663 (three verses, introduced with the words *'Bhīmaparākrame Bhojarājaḥ*), 675-676 (a long prose

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12. एषामृतूनां देवताः भीमपराक्रमात्—मरुतोऽग्निस्त्रिदशपतिर्विश्वेदेवाः प्रजापतिः सौम्यः । इति शिशिरप्रभृतीनां क्रमादृतूनां स्मृताः पतयः ॥ Folio *7b* of Mahādeva's commentary on रत्नमाला (Ms. Bs. 185 in the Bombay University Mss. collection.)

13. तथा च भीमपराक्रमे— स्वामिना नीयमानायाः प्रतिशुक्रो न विद्यते । मार्तण्डवल्लभ Folio 137*b* (In Prof. Velankar's Cat. of BBRAS. Mss. p. 106 No. 321). The Rajamārtaṇḍa (Folio 40*b* verse 635) has the verse एकग्रामे चतुःशाले दुर्भिक्षे राजविप्लवे । स्वामिना नीयमानायाः प्रतिशुक्रो न विद्यते ॥ and the भुजबल (p. 182 verse 862) reads राष्ट्रविप्लवे and पत्यानीय...पुरः शुक्रो न दुष्यति ।

14. भीमपराक्रमे—

वापीकूपतटाकादि निषिद्धं सिंहगे गुरौ ।
मकरस्थे तु तत्कार्यं न दोषः काललोपतः ॥
कार्यं मकरगे जीवे विवाहाद्यखिलं बुधैः ।
न तु सिंहगते जीवे कुर्वाणो मृत्युमाप्नुयात् ॥

ज्योतिस्तत्त्व p. 584; these occur in भुजबल p. 274 verses 1237-38 (the last reads जीवे कुतो मृत्युमवाप्नुयात्); षडष्टकादौ तारानियममाह भीमपराक्रमः—सौहृद्ये ह्युभयोर्द्वयोरपि तयो...कार्यो विवाहस्सदा । This is भुजबल p. 160 verse 766; भीमपराक्रमे भोजराजः— स्वामिहस्तप्रमाणेन धर्मपत्नीकरेण वा । मापयेद्गर्भमात्रं तु गृहकर्माणि कोविदः । ज्योतिस्तत्त्व p. 663; compare राजमार्तण्ड folio 53*b* verse 884 स्वामि...ज्येष्ठपत्नीकरेण च । गर्भमात्रं भवेद् गेहं नृणां प्रोक्तं पुरातनैः ॥

passage which provides for certain rites for the removal of fever if it seized a man on anyone of the nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī), 679 (1½ verses on the nakṣatras and astrological aspects favourable for taking medicine), 685 (two, both of which occur in Bhujabala, pp. 245-46, verses 1199, 1202, on how to yoke bulls in ploughing), 702 (three verses), 717 (6 verses, the first of which occurs in Bhujabala p. 285, v. 1284), 722 (4 verses). The Tithitattva quotes verses from the Bhīmaparākrama on pp. 55 (one verse on Goṣṭhāṣṭamī), 146 (on Agastyārghyadāna), the Māsatattva quotes from it on pp, 775 (when marriage should not be performed), 761 (on intercalary month) and the Saṃskāratattva pp. 884-885 (what should not be done in an intercalary month). It was not possible owing to the labour involved to find out whether all these verses could be identified with verses from Bhujabala and Rājamārtaṇḍa. A few identifications have been noted below.

The Bhujabalanibandha is an extensive work containing about 1740 verses in different metres, though the Anuṣṭubh metre preponderates. It is divided into 18 chapters, but express mention of the number of the chapter in the colophons is made only up to the 6th chapter. The opening verse contains an obeisance to Hari and states that the work undertaken is a Jyotiḥ-śāstra. The second verse asserts that (an army of) a thousand elephants and four thousand horses cannot secure what a single astrologer well-versed in *deśa* (country) and *kāla* (time) can do. The colophon[14a] at the end of the several chapters and at the end of the work tell us that it is the composition of Bhojarāja called Bhujabala and is a Jyotiḥ-śāstra. The contents may be briefly stated as follows: The astrological effects of the moon when occupying the several houses in the horoscope, the relative powers of tithi, nakṣatra, week-day, karaṇa, yoga, of the Sun and the Moon, time when the Moon is powerful or not, the periods for which each planet occupies a division of nakṣatras into groups; (pp. 1-5); what effects the several planets produce by themselves or

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14*a*. The colophon at the end of the first chapter is 'इति श्रीभोजराजकृतौ भुजबलनाम्नि ज्योतिःशास्त्रे रिष्टाध्यायः प्रथमः समाप्तः'; the colophon at the end of the work is इति श्रीभोजराजकृतौ भुजबलनिबन्धे ज्योतिश्शास्त्रे द्वादशमासकृत्यं समाप्तम् । समाप्तोऽयं ग्रन्थः ॥

when occupying the several houses in a horoscope (pp. 5-10); week-days (pp. 10-13); the activities that are successful when undertaken on each of the groups; what actions should be done on the several tithis and the presiding deities of the fifteen tithis; the names of the twelve rāśis, the twelve houses and the nine planets (including Rāhu and Ketu), friendship, enmity or indifference among planets (pp. 14-19); the figures of the several nakṣatras and the number of individual stars in each nakṣatra; classification of nakṣatras as *Ūrdhvamukha, Adhomukha, sthira, cara, tīkṣṇa, ugra, mṛdu, pumnāma* (pp. 21-27); definitions of *Yogas* like dagdha, siddha, mṛtyu, amṛta (pp. 28-34); usages of countries as to some of the astrological conjunctions (pp. 34-36); Karaṇas and effects of Karaṇas like Viṣṭi (pp. 36-39); classification of māsas (months) and the acts that should be done in each kind of māsa; tithis called Yugādi (pp. 40-42); meaning of vargottama, the effects thereof, dvipada and catuṣpada rāśis (pp. 42-44); meaning of paṇaphera, apoclima, trikoṇa, caturasra, upacaya; division of nakṣatras into deva, nara and rākṣasa (pp. 44-46); Gaṇḍadoṣa and its *śānti* (pp. 49-51); grahāriṣṭas and their śānti (pp. 54-64); special features of persons born on the twelve rāśis and on each of the twelve rāśis as the *lagna* (pp. 65-69); on dṛṣṭis of planets and the results of the dṛṣṭis of each planet on the other planets (pp. 70-74); results of a planet being in its own house or being *paramocca* or *paramanīca* (pp. 75-76); on *Horā* and Drekkāṇa and the limbs of the Kālapuruṣa (pp. 76-79); results of the yogas called Anaphā, Sunaphā, Durudhura and Kemadruma (pp. 80-81); the results of the several planets being in one of the twelve *bhāvas* in the horoscope for men and women (pp. 82-88); results of the several arrangements or order of planets in a horoscope such as Dhvaja, Ekāvalī, Rājahaṁsa, Kemadruma, Lalāṭī (pp. 89-98); *daśās* and *antardaśās* of the several planets, the maximum life of a person being held to be 108 years (verse 451, p. 99) 'aṣṭottaraśatam bhadre paramāyuḥ prakīrtitam', (pp. 100-116); years for each planet in the case of the viṁśottarī daśā (pp. 118-119); rites to be performed on the birth of a child, worship of Ṣaṣṭhīdevī (on the 6th day after birth); the astrological aspects on which the child is to be named or which are to be avoided for nāmakaraṇa and niṣkramaṇa (taking out of the house); the characteristics of the name to be given to a child (pp. 119-123); *Tāmbūlabhakṣaṇa* and *annaprāśana*

(pp. 123-127); astrological requirements for *Cūḍākaraṇa* and *Karṇavedha* and for the usual shaving of grown up persons (pp. 127-134); proper aspects and proper year for Upanayana and the proper characteristics of a student's staff, Samāvartana (pp. 135-147); *Vivāha* and favourable positions of the Sun and Jupiter for it, proper age for a girl's marriage from eight to ten, if a girl remains unmarried up to a late age, no astrological requirements to be seen except the Moon's position and the rising sign at the time of marriage, desirable qualities in a bridegroom and in a bride, undesirable qualities in both, undesirable astrological aspects between the horoscopes of the bride and bridegroom such as ṣaḍaṣṭaka and dvirdvādaśa; *varṇa* and *vaśya*; astrology based on nakṣatras only such as the nakṣatra of birth, 10th, 16th, 18th, 23rd, 25th therefrom; results of the positions of the planets in relation to the sign of birth and the 7th house (Jāmitra); Godhūliyoga as an auspicious time for marriage and in the case of married women; all actions are to be done on astrological aspects derived from the husband's horoscope except in the case of marriage and garbhādhāna (pp. 147-172); results of the week-day, tithi, nakṣatra, lagna on which a woman has monthly illness for the first time and rites for preventing evil effects (pp. 180-191); tithis and days on which sexual intercourse is to be had or is to be avoided (pp. 192-198); auspicious times for *puṁsavana*, for parting of the pregnant woman's hair, for putting on new clothes, for education in crafts and in nāṭya, for the construction of a lotus pool or a well (pp. 192-213); examination of a building site, astrological aspects for the beginning of the construction of a house and the auspicious trees on a site (pp. 213-228); inauspicious happenings when land is being measured for a house, position and number of doors in a house (pp. 228-236); auspicious times for entering the capital for coronation, for an audience of the king, for seeking service and auspicious times for putting the plough in the field, for sowing corn, for gathering in crops, for planting trees and creepers (pp. 237-253); recovery of lost or stolen property and times for taking medicines and examination of the times of rainfall (pp. 256-269); on seeing the Khañjana bird (p 270); the auspicious and inauspicious times for marching on an invasion, good and bad dreams, results of several planets being in the same rāśi (pp. 271-329); discussion about tithis (pp. 329-331); conclusions about Ekādaśī, the tithis on which

several gods go to sleep and become awake (pp. 330-334); rules about *Saṅkrānti*, *vāhanas* of *Saṅkrānti*, bath on Saṅkrānti; the appropriate dānas on each of the twelve Saṅkrāntis in a year (pp. 334-347); on eclipses (pp. 347-348); intercalary month (*adhimāsa* or *malamāsa* or *malimluc*); the religious acts allowed and forbidden in an intercalary month (348-350); the religious rites in the twelve months of the year; Indradhvaja festival, offering arghya to Agastya, śrāddha when the Sun is in the sign of Virgo; honouring horses in Āśvina bright half and śānti connected therewith, Durgāṣṭamī and Mahānavamī; propitiating Yama, Goṣṭhāṣṭamī, Bhīṣmāṣṭamī, Ardhodaya-yoga, Govindadvādaśī, Aśokāṣṭamī, auspicious times for performing *śāntika* and *pauṣṭika* rites (pp. 350-368).

The original ms. of this large work appears to be rather incorrect. In some cases there are gaps, *i.e.*, some letters or some parts of verses are missing. The author offers only a few explanations of his own, as on pp. (of the transcript) 23, 26, 118, 172-173, 209, 216, 235, 236, 261, 256-57, 359-60. As there are gaps in the ms. and it is corrupt some names of authorities may be lost. The ms. of Bhujabala names a number of authorities, *viz.*, Aṅgiras (p. 274), Atri (p. 295), Bharadvāja (pp. 295-296), Bhṛgu (295-296), Bhṛguja (pp. 311 on Yātrā), Cyavana (p. 295), Cūḍāmaṇi (p. 313, a mutilated verse, which looks like a Prākṛt verse),[15] Devala (p. 179), Durgāditya (p. 206, p. 13 where Durgādayaḥ appears to be a copyist's mistake for Durgāditya), Garga (241, 246, 250, 261, 272, 274, 295, 296, 312), Gautama (295), Hārīta (273, 274), Hari (44), Indra (as author of Yāmala 287), Parāśara (127, 222, 261, 274), Ratnasārasamuccaya (39), Satya (127, 145), Śrīnivāsa (99, 317, 322), Varāha (44, 130, 135, 200, 221, 234, 264, 275), Vasiṣṭha (212, 295), Vātsya (168, 261), Vyāsa (124, 125, 168, 206, 211, 271, 273), Vyavahāra-samuccaya, [15a] an astrological work (173), Yavanādhi-

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15. A writer called Cūḍāmaṇi is mentioned by the Sārāvalī on 'āyurdāya' (Chap. 39. 8).

15a. The verse quoted by the Bhujabala (p. 173 verse 825) from the Vyavahārasamuccaya is:

उदयास्ताधि॰ष्टो लग्ने यो व्यापको भवेदंशः ।
तैलस्याम्भसि विन्दुस्तरङ्गनिवहैर्यथा कीर्णः ॥

(व्यवहारसमुच्चय folio 18b verse 192)

pati[16] (58). It also refers to other works in the word "Granthāntare" (pp. 115, 165). Among the Purāṇas the Brahmapurāṇa (365), Devīpurāṇa (337), Nāradīya (116) and Vāmanapurāṇa (343) have been quoted[17], but I have not been able to locate all these verses. Two works most frequently quoted are the Dīpikā (44, 200, 235, 246, 275, 318, 319, 320, 321, 323) and the Ratnamālā[18] (pp. 4, 10-12, 209, 252). Several verses from the Ratnamālā (Jyotiṣaratnamālā) or Śrīpati are borrowed by the Bhujabalanibandha expressly of

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16. क्षीणे शशिनि विलग्ने पापैः केन्द्रेषु मृत्युसंस्थैर्वा ।
भवति विपत्तिरवश्यं यवनाधिपतेर्मतं चैतत् ॥

भुजबल p. 58 verse 271. In a verse quoted from भीमपराक्रम by the शुद्धिकौमुदी p. 218 the view of the Yavanas appears as follows:
'वक्रातिचारोपगतः सुरेज्यो यद्यन्यराशौ परिवर्जनीयः ।
यथाक्रमस्थः स्वगृहस्थितो वा न वर्जनीयो यवना वदन्ति ॥'

17. भुजबल (p. 365) ब्रह्मपुराणे—
माघमासे कृष्णपक्षे मकरस्थे दिवाकरे ।
अमावास्याव्यतीपाते श्रवणर्क्षेऽर्कवासरे ॥
अर्धोदया यामावास्या महापातकनाशिनी ।;
भुजबल (p. 337) देवीपुराणे—
पूर्वाह्णे पीड्यते राजा मध्याह्ने च द्विजोत्तमाः ।
अपराह्णे तथा वैश्याः शूद्राश्चास्तमिते रवौ ॥
पिशाचाश्च प्रदोषे च रात्र्यर्धे राक्षसास्तथा ।
अर्धरात्रे व्यतीते तु पीड्यन्ते नटनर्तकाः ॥;
भुजबल (p. 343) वामनपुराणे—
नन्दासु नाभ्यङ्गमुपाचरेत क्षौरं च रिक्तासु जयासु मांसम् ।
पूर्णासु योषित्परिवर्जनीया भद्रासु सर्वाणि समाचरेच्च ॥ This is Vāmanapurāṇa 14.48-49. ; भुजबल (p. 116) नारदीये । (the verse is corrupt)
संक्रान्तेर्ग्रहनक्षत्रं वा....न्युभयपार्श्वयोः ।
नेष्टशूलं षष्ठशुभं पर्यायाच्च पुनः पुनः ॥

I set out the verses in full here in the hope that some scholar would be able to trace these.

18. The ms. of the Ratnamālā in the Bhau Daji collection of the BBRAS 311 has been used in this paper. It has 20 chapters and 490 verses in all. It mentions that the author studied the works of Garga, Varāha and Lalla. There are sometimes slight variations in the readings of the ms. of Ratnamālā and those in the Bhujabala. But they are not important and are often due to

without acknowledgement. On p. 4 Bhujabala quotes the verse 'na khalu bahulapakṣe' expressly from the Ratnamālā (Chap. XI. 5). The verses 'rājābhiṣeka' (Bhujabala pp. 10-12, verses 48-55) on what should be undertaken on the several week-days are expressly taken from the Ratnamālā (III. 2-9). The verse on Vidyārambha 'vidyārambhaḥ suragurusita' (Bhujabala p. 209) is expressly quoted from Ratnamālā (III. 19). On p. 252 a verse about the prognostications on the fall of *pallī* (house-lizard) or a chameleon on several parts of the body is expressly quoted from the Ratnamālā, but I have not been able to trace it. The verse 'manvarka-digvāstu' in Bhujabala (p. 14) on 'Kulikavelā' is the same as Ratnamālā (III. 21); Bhujabala (p. 37) three verses beginning with 'pauṣṭikasthira' on the several *karaṇas* are the same as Ratnamālā V. 4-5 and 12; the verse 'kṛtakautukamaṅgalacāruvapuḥ' of Bhujabala (pp. 178-179) is the same as Ratnamālā (XVI. 35). From the Ratnamālā[19] are borrowed two verses by Bhujabala that provide that a learned astrologer should not break the usages of families and countries by sticking to the words of the (astrological) śāstra since those usages have their root in the recensions of the Veda that are now lost and since if (those usages are not observed), the fault of violating established religious usages might be incurred and then another verse explains how Gauḍas, Dākṣiṇātyas, Lāṭas (country about modern Surat) and people from Avanti (country of

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the mistakes of copyists. The work was composed in the first half of the 11th century, since in his Dhīkoṭidakaraṇa he takes śaka 961 (1039 A.D.) as the ārambha-varṣa. Vide S. B. Dikshit's 'Bhāratīya Jyotiḥ-śāstra' (2nd ed.) p. 237.

19. The रत्नमाला verses (XVI. 30 and 32) are:

न शास्त्रदृष्ट्या विदुषा कदाचिदुल्लङ्घनीयाः कुलदेशधर्माः ।
मूलं हि तेषां च्युतवेदशाखा भूयाच्च धर्मस्थितिभङ्गदोषः ॥
गौडाः सूर्यागोचरे न प्रमाणं वाञ्छन्त्यार्या दाक्षिणात्या विवाहे ।
लाटाः प्रायो स्थानवीर्याश्रिताः स्युरावन्त्यानां गोचरे न प्रमाणम् ॥

These are भुजबल pp. 35-36 verses 147-149 and somewhat corrupt therein; the last quarter of the first has "भङ्गात स्थितिधर्मदोषात्" and in the second the variatious are गोचरेण प्रशस्तं, तद्वज्यं दाक्षिणात्याः. For the view of authoritativeness of usages of countries and families, vide History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. III pp. 843-844 and pp. 879-881.

which Ujjayinī was capital) differ in their usages about astrologically favourable positions of planets at the time of marriage.

These verses cited in the preceding sentences are borrowed without acknowledgment. The Dīpikā cannot be the Śuddhidīpikā of Śrīnivāsa if the date of one of his works, the Gaṇitacintāmaṇi, given by MM. Haraprasad Sastri in Vol. III of his Catalogue, Preface, p. vi (A. D. 1158) be correct. The Śuddhikaumudī quotes five verses from Paśupatidīpikā (pp. 206, 210-212, 229) and distinguishes it from Śuddhidīpikā quoted on the same pages. Several dozen verses have been traced by me as borrowed by Bhujabala from Varāhamihira's works without acknowledgment. The verse 'Sutamadana' (Bhujabala p. 63) is Bṛhaj-jātaka VI. 11 and the whole chapter XVII of the same work (verses 1-13) is bodily taken over by Bhujabala (pp. 64-67) on the characteristics of persons having Meṣa and the other rāśis; Bṛhatsaṁhitā 103-13 on Godhūli-muhūrta is same as B. B. pp. 177-841. The verse 'Jyotiṣam āgamaśāstram' (Bṛhat-saṁhitā 9. 7) is quoted in a somewhat mutilated form on p. 178 of the Bhujabala. Seven verses from the Bṛhatsaṁhitā (906-12) on the classification of nakṣatras into 'sthira, cara, tīkṣṇa' are taken up by Bhujabala cn pp. 26-27. Over twenty verses on dreams are borrowed by Bhujabala on pp. 297-304 from Bṛhad-yogayātrā of Varāhamihira chap. 16. 1-31 (with the omission of some verses). On Bhujabala p. 42 the three verses 'Vaiśākhamāsasya' on Yugādya tithis are the same as Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 14. 12-14 and on Bhujabala p. 193 the two verses 'caturdaśyaṣṭamī' on *parva* days are Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 11. 118-119. Bhujabala p. 152 (kāmam āmaraṇāt) is Manu IX. 89 and pp. 153-154 about the auspicious characteristics of a marriageable maiden 'avyaṅgāṅgīm' are the same as Manu III. 8-10 (but in a different order). Parāśarasmṛti VII. 5-8 (aṣṭavarṣā bhavet, mātā caiva, yastām) occur in Bhujabala p. 151, and Nārada (strī-puṁsayoga verses 36 and 37) are the same as Bhujabala (pp. 153-154), *viz.*, 'unmattaḥ' and 'dīrghaḥ'.

On p. 50 there is a verse which appears to be in Prakrit.[20]

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20. यत्र दण्डे गण्ड पावइ गण्डवषे(वर्षे ?) तासु गुणजइ ।
गण्डवर्षे दण्डहरिआण अट्ठमासदिनदण्ड जाण ॥

भुजबल p. 50 verse 223 on गण्डदोष.

It would involve great labour to identify all the verses that are borrowed from other works. Such a labour would be appropriate only if an edition based on several mss. is brought out. A few examples where borrowing is probable are mentioned here. On p. 355 the Bhujabala sets out four verses on the proper time for śrāddha all of which appear to be quotations from earlier Smṛtis or Purāṇas.[21] The Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara (Chowkhamba series) quotes[22] a verse from Bhujabalabhīma the first half of which is cited from Uśanas by the Smṛticandrikā (on Śrāddha p. 492). The Bhujabala has taken the verse 'Kālanarasyāvayavān' (p. 79 verse 368) from the Sārāvali of Kalyāṇavarman (III. 6).

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21. सूर्ये कन्यागते श्राद्धं यो न कुर्याद् गृहाश्रमी ।
धनं पुत्राः कुतस्तस्य पितृनिःश्वासतृष्णया ।
कन्यागते सवितरि पितरो यान्ति सुतालयम् (यान्ति वै सुतान् ?) ॥
तावत्प्रेतपुरी शून्या यावद् वृश्चिकदर्शनम् ।
अन्ते वा यदि वा मध्ये यत्र कन्यां च वर्जयेत् (कन्यां रविर्व्रजेत् ?) ॥
स पक्षः सकलः प्रोक्तस्तस्य श्राद्धं विधीयते ।
आषाढीमवधिं कृत्वा यस्याः(यः स्यात् ?) पक्षस्तु पञ्चमः ।
स विज्ञेयः परः पक्षः कन्यां गच्छतु वा न वा ॥

भुजबल pp. 355-56 verses 1562-1565. The first verse सूर्ये is quoted from सुमन्तु by अपरार्क p. 424 (it reads निःश्वासपीडनात्); the second verse कन्यागते सवितरि is quoted by अपरार्क p. 424 from कार्ष्णाजिनि and from an unspecified purāṇa by the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (श्राद्ध p. 366, ed. by Gharpure); as cited in the भुजबल the second pāda of that verse would have nine syllables instead of eight; the वर्षक्रियाकौमुदी p. 346 cites it from the भविष्यपुराण and reads the second pāda as पितृराजानुशासनात् । The Third verse अन्ते वा is quoted by अपरार्क p. 423 from कार्ष्णाजिनि and from वृद्धमनु by the स्मृतिच. (on श्राद्ध p. 365); the last verse (आषाढीमवधिं) is quoted by अपरार्क p. 423 and वर्षक्रियाकौमुदी p. 345 from जातूकर्ण्य and by the स्मृतिच. (on श्राद्ध p. 365) from आदिपुराण.

22. भुजबलभीमे—
अपत्नीकः प्रवासी च यस्य भार्या रजस्वला ।
आमश्राद्धं द्विजैः कार्यं शूद्रेण तु सदैव हि ॥

श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर p. 16; this is also राजमार्तण्ड folio 78a verse 1307.

From certain verses of the Bhujabala it appears that the work was addressed to a queen or a noble lady. *Vide* pp. 64, 99 and 100.[23]

Not only does the ms. of Bhujabalanibandha ascribe it to king Bhoja, but medieval digests expressly ascribe the work to Bhojadeva.[24] It has however to be noticed that the work is generally called by these digests Bhujabalabhīma. In the Malamāsatattva (Jiv. Vol. I p. 743) it is said 'Vyaktam Bhujabale grahaśuddhim abdaśuddhim......kanyakānām'. The Saṁskāratattva (p. 912) quotes three verses from Bhujabala (and not Bhujabalabhīma) which occur in the transcript of Bhujabala pp. 201-202 verses 961, 967, 968 (but in a different order and with some variant readings). On p. 928 of the Saṁskāratattva two verses from Bhujabala (and not—balabhīma) on the topic as to when Upanayana and other auspicious rites should not be undertaken are cited. I was not able to trace these. It is possible to hold that the Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana knew the Bhujabalanibandha. It quotes two texts as from Bhojadeva,[25] the first of which is found in Bhujabala

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23. भुजबल p. 64. मूर्ध्नि राजा महादेवि बालानां जन्मतो भवेत् ।
ibid. चरणर्क्षे च यो जातः सोऽल्पायुर्भवति प्रिये ।
p. 99 अष्टोत्तरशतं भद्रे परमायुः प्रकीर्तितम् ।;
p. 100 बलहीने वित्तनाशं करोति वरवर्णिनि ।

24. "गौतमः—
आरभ्य कुतपे श्राद्धं कुर्यादारोहिणं बुधः ।
विधिज्ञो विधिमास्थाय रौहिणं तु न लङ्घयेत् ॥"
एतद्वचनं भुजबलभीमे भोजदेवेन धृतम् । तिथितत्त्व p. 17; vide श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 267 for the words 'एतद्वचनद्वयं भुजबलभीमे भोजदेवेन धृतम्'; भुजबलभीमे
ग्रहशुद्धिमब्दशुद्धिं शुद्धिं मासायनर्तुदिवसानाम् ।
अर्वाग्दशवर्षेभ्यो मुनयः कथयन्ति कन्यकानाम् ॥ उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 124.
In the transcript of भुजबलनिबन्ध I could not find these verses.

25. यथा भोजदेवपठितं वचनम्—
नाद्यात्सूर्यग्रहात्पूर्वमह्नि सायं शशिग्रहात् ।
ग्रहकाले च नाश्नीयात् स्नात्वाश्नीयात्तु मुक्तयोः ।
मुक्ते शशिनि भुञ्जीत यदि न स्यान्महानिशा ।
स्नात्वा दृष्ट्वा परेऽह्न्यद्याद् ग्रस्तास्तमितयोस्तयोः ॥

p. 346. The Varṣakriyākaumudī (p. 104) states that these two verses were quoted by the Kāmadhenu from the Kūrmapurāṇa.

In the Tithitattva[26] of Raghunandana (Jiv. p. 25) two verses are quoted from Bhojarāja, which are found in Bhujabalanibandha. Similarly, on the rites of the sixth day after the birth of a son the Kṛtyatattva quotes a passage inclusive of a verse from Bhojarāja, which verse occurs in Bhujabala.[27]

We must now turn to the Rājamārtaṇḍa. This is a valuable work on astrology in its relation to topics of Dharma-śāstra.[28] The Śuddhikaumudī, the Śrāddhakaumudī and the

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कालविवेक p. 539; The two verses are कूर्मपुराण उत्तरार्ध, Chap. 19.15-16.

26. भोजराजः—

यो जन्ममासे क्षुरकर्म यात्रां कर्णस्य वेधं कुरुते च मोहात् ।
नूनं स रोगं धनपुत्रनाशं प्राप्नोति मूढो वधबन्धनानि ।

जातं दिनं दूषयते वसिष्ठश्चाष्टौ (त्वष्टा च ?) गर्गो यवनो दशाहम् ।
जन्माख्य (जन्मर्क्ष ?) मासं किल भागुरिश्च चूडे विवाहे क्षुरकर्णवेधे ॥

तिथितत्त्व pp. 25-26; these two respectively occur in भुजबल p. 129 (verse 601) and p. 132 verse 615 (which reads the last pāda as (व्रते विवाहेषु च कर्णवेधे). Immediately ofter quoting these verses the तिथितत्त्व (p. 26) quotes राजमार्तण्डः.

27. षष्ठीं संपूज्य ओम्—गौर्याः पुत्रो यथा स्कन्दः शिशुः संरक्षितस्त्वया ।
तथा ममाप्ययं बालो रक्ष्यतां षष्ठिके नमः ।

इत्युच्चार्य ओं षष्ठ्यै नम इति त्रिः पूयजेदिति भोजराजः । कृत्यतत्त्व p. 473. The verse is भुजबल p. 121 verse 557. The next verse is षष्ठि देवि नमस्तुभ्यम् ।

28. The ms. of राजमार्तण्ड used for this paper is D. C. No. 342 of 1879-80 (now in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona). The ms. has 83 folios with about 10 to 12 lines (rarely 15 lines) on each side with about 35 letters in each line and contains 1462 verses. It was copied in *Saṁvat* 1655, Caitra bright half, 8th tithi and Friday (*i.e.*, 1598 A.D.). It is thus rather old and contains pṛṣṭhamātrās. The colophon at the end is:

इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज-श्रीभोजविरचितं राजमार्तण्डाभिधानं ज्योतिःशास्त्रं समाप्तः(प्तम्) ।

It is much more correct than the ms. of Bhujabala,

Varṣakriyākaumudī of Govindānanda and some Tattvas of Raghunandana quote over two hundred verses from the Rājamārtaṇḍa. The first seven verses are introductory. The first verse performs an obeisance to the Sun, who, it is alleged, was the author of an extensive Jyotiḥśāstra in three branches and who came down again to the earth in the form of Varāhamihira. The second verse promises that the author would propound what is excellent and clear in the views of former teachers. It is said in the 4th and 6th introductory verses that a family priest, an astronomer, a councillor and an astrologer—these four should always be supported by a king and that long life and prosperity follow where honour is paid to the gods, the astrologer, the family priest, the *gurus*, planets and nakṣatras. In the ms. I have used there are no chapters, but only the matters dealt with are mentioned in a verse or at the end of the treatment of a topic words like 'iti yātrāyām māsaśuddhiḥ' are added in reddish yellow pigment. The contents of the work may be briefly stated as follows: the several names of the Sun, Moon, the other planets, Rāhu and Ketu; the several names of the 27 nakṣatras from Aśvinī to Revatī and the lords of the 27 nakṣatras (verses 16-41); names of the twelve rāśis from Meṣa to Mīna and the distribution of the 27 nakṣatras among the twelve rāśis (42-53); lords of the twelve rāśis (54); the horoscope of a married woman's husband alone is to be considered in all actions relating to her except in a few cases such as garbhādhāna, when both horoscopes are to be considered, and in the case of a widow her own horoscope is to be considered (55-63); astrological rules about tying up the hair (bālabandha) after monthly illness for three days (64-75); astrological rules about proper days for sexual intercourse after monthly illness and the qualities of the child to be born (76-91) and inauspicious nakṣatras and times for the rite of puṁsavana (92-124); what is gaṇḍa and gaṇḍānta and Śānti rites for obviating evil effects thereof (125-148); about Ṣaḍvarga (156-159); *horāphala* (160-172); the physical and mental qualities due to the seven *grahas* from the Sun to Saturn (173-179); when riṣṭa (aśubha) is averted (180-185); seven kinds of *bala* of the planets and their causing desirable or undesirable results (186-195); *Veśi* and its conjunctions (196-201); Vṛddhiśrāddha to be performed at the time of the several *Saṁskāras* before and after the birth of a son, on cūḍākaraṇa, upanayana,

marriage, establishment of an image, entering a newly built house (202-213); rules about naming a child (214-220); times and astrological details about Niṣkramaṇa (carrying of the child out of the house), making it (first taste) a tāmbūla and food (221-253); rules and aspects about Cūḍākaraṇa (254-285); Karṇavedha (piercing the lobes of the child's ears, verses 286-296); Vidyārambha (296-303); times, astrological and other rules for upanayana and the length and wood of the staff (304-379); astrological rules about the age of marriage for girls, condemnation of parents and brothers for not getting a girl married before she is 12 years of age; when no astrological matters are to be looked into at the marriage of a girl, usages of countries as to astrology, requirements about favourable position of Jupiter in marriage, auspicious months for marriage, such aspects as Ṣaṭṣaṭkāṣṭaka and Dvidvādaśa in the horoscopes of the bride and bridegroom, auspicious nakṣatras and aspects for actual pāṇigrahaṇa, rules about *parivedana* (marriage of a younger brother or sister before an elder one), the auspicious muhūrta called *godhūlikā*, ten yogas, *saptaśalākācakra*, consideration of the 7th house (Jāmitra) in relation to the Moon and other planets, respective strength of the Moon and Tārā, entrance of the newly married girl into the house, the results of journeying when Venus is in front, favourable aspects for putting on new clothes and ornaments (380-652); king's marching out for an invasion, when the time of his birth is known or not known (653-804), classification of tithis into Nandā, Bhadrā, Vijayā, Riktā, Pūrṇā and the tithis that are commended for all actions and the effects of marching on the several tithis, the several karaṇas, the several week-days, nakṣatras, zodiacal signs rising, the planets in the several directions, the navāṁśa of the *lagna*, effects of the planets being in the several houses of the king's horoscope, and the eight guardians of the quarters from the east in order, *viz.*, Sun, Venus, Mars, Rāhu, Saturn, Moon, Mercury and Jupiter, what is Lolātiyoga, consideration of the question in what direction a king should march, results of marching on Vyatīpātayoga, or in rains out of season, proper month for marching, procedure of *prasthāna* (654-779); the six nakṣatras, *viz.*, of birth, of 10th, 16th, 20th, 23rd and 25th from birth are respectively called ādya, karma, sāṅghātika, samudaya, vaināśika and mānasa; in the case of the king there are three more to be considered, *viz.*, jāti (caste), deśa

and the nakṣatra on which he was crowned and appropriate rites of śānti when these are affected by evil aspects and for removing the effects of solar and lunar eclipses (780-804); building of a house (vāstu), sixteen kinds of houses due to their shape, *viz.*, square, rectangular, round, triangular, etc., effects of planting trees in the several directions round the house, trees and flowering plants that should be or should not be near the house, position of a house on a house site, houses facing certain directions to be avoided, at what times, what positions of a house should be used for what purposes (805-884); removal of inauspicious signs when measuring the site or digging foundations (885-899); astrological aspects at entering a newly built house (900-908); construction and dedication of wells, tanks, temples, monasteries, swimming baths and caityas and auspicious and inauspicious astrological details about them (909-943); times for digging a well, for beginning agricultural operations, for planting trees (944-952); about Ūrdhvamukha and other nakṣatras, when to begin eating new crops recently harvested, on what astrological conjunctions one may begin taking medicine, when to ride a horse or elephant for the first time, about Dhaniṣṭhāpañcaka (953-1000); the effects of the Moon being eighth from the lagna or an evil planet being in the 8th house, evil effects of doing a thing on Viṣṭi (1001-1022); Yogas, unfavourable *lagna*, Nandā and other tithis in relation to planets (1023-1045); Amṛtasiddhi, Dagdhayoga, Mṛtyuyoga and Jupiter in the sign Leo, effects of Jupiter and Venus being in the stage of bāla, vṛddha and sandhyāgata (1046-1077); about the intercalary month and what actions are allowed or forbidden therein (1078-1115); effects of the pūjā of the Sun on 7th tithi after a fast on 6th and of Śiva on the 8th or 14th, and of Devī on 9th and 13th, rules about the *vedha* of a tithi by another (1116-1131); three kinds of tithis, *viz.*, *kharva*, *darpa* and *hiṁsra*, rules about the appropriate tithi on which a vrata is to be performed when on the same day two tithis are mixed up (1136-1147); rules about Ekādaśīvrata (1148-1171); Saptamyarkavrata, the *śayana* (lying down) and *utthāna* of various gods, particularly of Viṣṇu (1173-1190); *Upākarma*, yugādi tithis (1200-1205); procedure of offering arghya to Agstya (1206-1228); Śravaṇadvādaśī and Jayantīvrata (1229-1255); Haritālikā (1256-1259); on the raising of Indradhvaja (1260-1292); Upākarma of followers of Sāmaveda (1293-94);

on Śrāddhas (1295-1326); Durgotsava and *nīrājana* (1327-1334); Kaumudī, Viṣṇu's rising from sleep (1335-1338); Pretacaturdaśī (1339-1345); Sukharātrī, Bhrātṛdvitīyā, Ākāśadīpa (1346-1357); Kārtikasnāna and māghasnāna (1358-1368); Māghasaptamī, Bhīṣmāṣṭamī, Puṣyadvādaśī, Aśokāṣṭamī (1369-1380); Caitrāvalī, Mahājyaiṣṭhī, Mahāmāghī and other Full Moon days with the attribute 'mahā' and the holy places where each of them has special sanctity (1381-1392); Sāvitrīvrata, Pāṣāṇacaturthī, Araṇyaṣaṣṭhī, Daśāharā (1394-1405); on Saṅkrānti (1406-1429); day called Trahaspṛk explained, *dinakṣaya*, the four kinds of māsas and the actions for which they are appropriate (1430-35); Prāṇa, Vikalā, Kalā, aṁśa, rāśi, yugas and similar measures of time (1436-1442); *Vakrāticāra* of planets (1443-47); prognostications from clothes eaten by rats, burnt or torn; signs on the different parts of the body of a male prognosticating his qualities and achievements; the effects when Meṣa or one of the other eleven rāśis is the *lagna* of a person (1456-1462).

The Rājamārtaṇḍa does not mention by name any *nibandha* but only ancient writers. The verses therein are numbered from one to one hundred and sometimes the total number is given in hundreds and sometimes not (the figures for 600, 900, 1000, 1100, 1300 and 1400 are wanting.)[29] The following are mentioned by name, most of them being writers on astronomy and astrology: Aṅgiras (1448), Atri (775), Bhāguri (134), Bhāradvāja (769), Bhārgava (317), Bhṛgu (691, 769, 878), Bhṛguja (probably the same as Bhārgava, 556), Bṛhaspati (134), Cyavana (775), Garga (59, 362, 370, 560, 1059), Gārgya (769, 1040, 1443), Gautama (59, 61, 775, 1064), Hārīta[30] (59, 106ff, 376, 1057), Maṇittha (729), Māṇḍavya (376, 479, 482, 1443), Manu (56), Parāśara (307, 319, 376, 479, 1443), Raibhya (479), Satya (307, 319, 745), Śaunaka (1064), Vālmīki (370, 1064), Varāhamihira (1,

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29. I mention the number of the verse as shown in the ms. I have used. In this paper R. M. is an abbreviation for Rājamārtaṇḍa and B. B. for Bhujabala.

30. It may be noticed that both the Bhujabala (pp. 198-199 verses 943-948) and Rājamārtaṇḍa (106-111) contain the same story in identical verses that Hārīta asked Vyāsa what nakṣatras, tithis, lagnas and yogas were commended and condemned for uṁsavana.

137), Vasiṣṭha (729, 769), Vātsya (479), Viśālākṣa (129), Viśvāmitra (133), Viṣṇu (130), Vyāsa (370), Yavana (387), Yavanāḥ (255, 275, 457, 1055), Yavanācārya (128), Yavanādhipati (134, 197). It is very probable that the last four names stand for only one author. It appears probable that some Greek of high standing settled in India, learnt Sanskrit and composed a large Sanskrit work on astrology from which Varāhamihira, Utpala and others draw several hundred verses.[31] There is the Besnagar column (Garuḍa-dhvaja) inscription (of 2nd century B.C.) which recites that Heliodora, son of Diya (Dion), the Yona (Yavana) ambassador of king Antalikita (Antialkidas) to king Bhāgabhadra in India who had become a Bhāgavata raised that column in honour of Vāsudeva (JRAS 1909 p. 1033, 1087, and JBBRAS vol. 23, 1910, p. 104, JOR. XV (1945-6) 135-7).

The Rājamārtaṇḍa quotes numerous verses without acknowledgment from several sources. A few examples may be given. Manu III. 235 (trīṇi śrāddhe pavitrāṇi) is the same as R. M. 1301 and the two verses Manu III. 171-172 occur in Rājamārtaṇḍa 544-545 (on *parivedana*), the verse 'punarbhojanam adhvānam' R. M. 1323 is Kūrmapurāṇa II. 22.6, R M. 86 (caturdaśyaṣṭamī caiva) is the same as Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 11.118, the two verses of R. M. 1229-30 are among 4½ verses cited by the Varṣakriyākaumudī (p. 320) from the R. M. (but taken from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa). A large number of verses is taken from the Bṛhat-saṁhitā, *e.g.*, Bṛhatsaṁhitā 98 14 (nṛpājñayā brāhmaṇa-sammatena) is the same as R. M. folio 18a verse 279; R. M. 780-81 (about the names of the nakṣatra of birth and the 10th, 16th, 18th, 23rd and 25th from the janma-nakṣatra) are taken from Varāhamihira's Yogayātrā ix. 1-2. The Rājamārtaṇḍa borrows several verses from the Ratnamālā. For instance, the verses of Ratnamālā XV. 37 (on prasthāna) occurs in Rājamārtaṇḍa (folio 49-b verse 776) and also in Bhujabala p. 295 verse 1336. It is somewhat remarkable that the 2nd introductory verse of the

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31. *Vide* my paper on 'Varāhamihira and Utpala' for further details about Yavana and Yavaneśvara, in JBBRAS. Vol. 24-25 for 1948-49 pp. 19-20. It has to be noted that the opinions of Yavana, Yavanas and Yavanādhipati are cited on such matters as Cūḍākaraṇa, forbidding marriage when Jupiter is in Leo, on gaṇḍa and veśi.

Rājamārtaṇḍa is the same as the second introductory verse of Utpala's commentary on the Bṛhajjātaka.[31-a] As Utpala wrote his commentary in *Śaka* 888 (966 A.D.) and as he is mentioned by Al-beruni in his work on India composed in 1030 A.D., it follows that the Rājamārtaṇḍa borrows this verse from Utpala, *vide* my paper on 'Varāhamihira and Utpala' in JBBRAS, Vol. 24-25 New Series 1948-49 pp. 22-23 and 30-31 for the date of Utpala.

Hundreds of verses are the same in both Bhujabala and Rājamārtaṇḍa. Considerations of space forbid a detailed examination. A few examples alone are cited here. R.M. 56 and 58 ('strīṇām sarvakriyārambhe' and 'vivāhakāryam') are Bhujabala p. 180 verses 851-52; four verses in R.M. 77, 86-88 are B.B. pp. 192-193 verses 913-916; R.M. 96, 103-105 are B.B. 955, 957-959; R.M. 106-111 (dialogue of Vyāsa and Hārīta) are B.B. pp 198-199 verses 943-48; R.M. 123-125 are B.B. p. 201 verses 960-962; R M. 360-363 are the same as B.B. 649, 652-653, 684;[32] R.M. 540, 541, 552, 555, 559 are B.B. verses 845-846, 842, 840, 143; the five verses and the mantra at the end in gaṇḍa-doṣaśānti in R.M. 144-148 are the same as B.B. p. 57 verses 226-230. Verses quoted as from Rājamārtaṇḍa in the medieval digests are found in it and also in Bhujabala. For example, the verse 'Yātrām vivāham' which is cited in the Śuddhikaumudī (p. 222)

31a. यच्छास्त्रं सविता चकार विपुलैः स्कन्धैस्त्रिभिर्ज्योतिषां
तस्योच्छित्तिभयात् पुनः कलियुगे संस्मृत्य यो भूतलम् ।
भूयः स्वल्पतरं वराहमिहिरव्याजेन सर्वं व्यधा-
दित्थं यत् प्रवदन्ति योगकुशलास्तस्मै नमो भास्वते ॥

राजमार्तण्ड second verse; Utpala's Com. (as printed) reads संसृत्य for संस्मृत्य, सर्वे for सर्वं and मोक्षकुशलाः for योगकुशलाः ।

The same verse occurs as the 2nd introductory verse in his commentary on the Bṛhatsaṁhitā.

32. One of these verses is striking:

अथ यौधिष्ठिरी सेना गाङ्गेयशरपीडिता ।
प्रतिपत्पाठशीलानां विद्येव तनुतां गता ॥ राजमार्तण्ड 361,

भुजबल 684 (reads शरताडिता). It is in the Rāmāyaṇa that we have the verse

सा प्रकृत्यैव तन्वङ्गी तद्वियोगाच्च कर्शिता ।
प्रतिपत्पाठशीलस्य विद्येव तनुतां गता ॥ सुन्दरकाण्ड 59. 32.

from the Rājamārtaṇḍa is found in the latter (folio 67a, verse 1058) and also in Bhujabala (p. 274 verse 236). The verse 'vāpīkūpataḍāga-yāgagamanam' cited in the Śuddhikaumudī (p. 223) from the Bhīmaparākrama occurs in the Bhujabala p. 271 (verse 222) except that the last quarter is slightly different. Verses 143-144, 150 of Bhujabala are interesting. They[33] inculcate that the astrologer should not be a hide-bound pedant, but must observe the customs and usages of various countries and families even though they may be opposed to the dicta of śāstra. The Rājamārtaṇḍa also contains these verses. Both works refer to usages of several countries about the astrological requirements in the case of marriages.

So late a work as the Kālatattvavivecana of Raghunātha (1620 A.D) refers to the tithis on which several deities lie down for sleep according to Bhojadeva. Both the Rājamārtaṇḍa (folio 72a verse 1175) and the Bhujabala (p. 333 verse 1532) present the same verse on this matter.[33-a] It is remar-

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33. देशाचारस्तावदादौ विचिन्त्यो देशे देशे या स्थितिः सैव कार्या ।
लोकद्विष्टं पण्डिता वर्जयन्ति दैवज्ञोऽतो लोकमार्गेण यायात् ॥
कालस्य वृत्तस्य च चित्तवृत्तिर्न लङ्घनीया विदुषा कदाचित् ।
दोषः प्रतिख्याय कृतोपयाता(कृतोऽपि यत्र?)संभाव्यते ज्यौतिषिकस्य तर्कैः ॥
भौमे विशुद्धे यमुनातटोद्भवा हिमालयस्थाः शशिजे शुभर्क्षगे ।
कैलासदेशप्रभवाः शनैश्चरे द्वीपान्तरस्थाश्च भृगौ जगुः शुभे(शुभम्)॥

भुजबल (pp. 34-35 verses 143-144 and 150, राजमार्तण्ड folio 25b verses 399, 400 and 402. (reads लोकाचारस्तावदादौ, कुलस्य देशस्य च चित्त, सद्भाव्यते ज्योतिषिकस्य सोऽज्ञः) and देशान्तरस्था भृगुजे जगुः शुभम्).

33a कालतत्त्वविवेचन (Sarasvati Bhavan Series p. 176) says 'इति भोजदेवालिखितशयनातिथिक्रमविरोधात्'. The verse in question is

वह्निस्कन्दपुरन्दरा गणपतिर्लक्ष्मीयमौ भास्करो
वायुः पार्वतिका तथा वसुमती तोयाधिपः केशवः ।
ब्रह्मा शम्भुजिनादयः प्रतिपदारम्भे तिथौ शेरते
उत्तिष्ठन्त्यमुना क्रमेण वरदाः स्वे स्वे दिने पूजिताः ॥

राजमार्तण्ड 1175. The भुजबल verse is corrupt, but reads the third पाद as कन्दर्पश्च सरस्वती त्रिभुवनस्तम्भः स्वयंभूस्तथा । The वर्षक्रियाकौमुदी p. 286 mostly follows राजमार्तण्ड but reads 3rd पाद as ब्रह्मा चैव महेश्वरो धनपतिः सर्वेऽप्यमी शेरते.

kable that two verses on the karaṇa called *Viṣṭi*[34] which are quoted by the Bhujabala from the Bhīmaparākrama occur in Rājamārtaṇḍa (verses 1021-22).

In a few cases exactly opposite views appear to have been taken by Bhujabala and the ms. of Rājamārtaṇḍa. The latter states in verse 307, 'Satya[35], Parāśara and other sages lay down that proper or auspicious years to be calculated in the case of Upanayana and marriage are to be calculated from conception, while others say that they are to be calculated from birth, but Bhujabala attributes to Satya, Parāśara and gurus the view that the years are to be calculated from birth and to others from conception. Various explanations are possible to account for this conflict, *viz.*, the copyists are at fault or the author changed his mind or that the compilers of the two works commissioned by king Bhoja were different. To me the third alternative appears more probable.

Sometimes there is contradiction between the quotation from Rājamārtaṇḍa in a digest and the ms. of the Rājamārtaṇḍa. For example, Varṣakriyākaumudī p. 116 quotes from Rājamārtaṇḍa the prescription that for obviating the effects of undesirable nāḍīs one should give to a young brāhmaṇa in order cow's milk, a cake of flour with jaggery, ghee, curds, honey or pāyasa (rice grains cooked in milk), while the ms.

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34. भीमपराक्रमे—पूर्वस्यां...वारुण्यां च सुदारुणा भूतेश्वरी पूर्णिमा । ... विकथिता प्राज्ञातिथि भूतजाम् ।

राजमार्तण्ड 1021-22. Vide note 6 (b) above for the verses.

35. सत्यपराशरमुनयो गर्भादिमुदीरयन्ति वर्षाणाम् ।
परिशुद्धिं परिणयने व्रते च जन्मादितश्चान्ये ॥

राजमार्तण्ड verse 307, while भुजबल (p. 127 verse 591) reads सत्यपरायणरसगुरवो(? पराशरगुरवो) जन्मादिमुदीरयन्ति वर्षाणाम् । परिशुद्धिं परिणयने व्रते च गर्भादितश्चान्ये । The following verses may be noted for explanation. गर्भाष्टमेऽब्दे कुर्वीत ब्राह्मणस्योपनायनम् । ...विशः ॥ मनु II. 36; अष्टवर्षा भवेद् गौरी नववर्षा च रोहिणी । दशवर्षा भवेत् कन्या स्वत ऊर्ध्वं रजस्वला । भुजबल p. 151 verse 714; उपनयनमाहुरिष्टं द्विजस्य गर्भाष्टमेऽष्टमे वापि ॥ भुजबल p. 140 verse 656;

of Rājamārtaṇḍa provides that the things mentioned above should be given to an *old* brāhmaṇa.[36]

Though both in the Bhujabala and in the Rājamārtaṇḍa many of the topics dealt with are common yet there is some difference of treatment in the two works. The Bhujabala is a little larger than the Rājamārtaṇḍa and is almost exclusively concerned with purely astrological matter. The Bhujabala devotes verses 450-529 to *daśās* and *antardaśās* but in the Rājamārtaṇḍa there is nothing corresponding to this topic. On the other hand the Bhujabala devotes only nine verses (1521-1529) to the subject of intercalary month, while the Rājamārtaṇḍa devotes 38 verses to it (four verses being the same in both); the Bhujabala devotes verses 1502-1514 to a dissertation on tithis in general, while Rājamārtaṇḍa has 32 verses on that topic (1116-1147); the subject of offering *arghya* to Agastya takes up 23 verses in the Rājamārtaṇḍa (1206-1228), while Bhujabala devotes only one verse to that subject; the treatment of Gaṇḍadoṣas is more elaborate in Rājamārtaṇḍa (verses 92-148) as compared with that in the Bhujabala (215-251).

It is somewhat remarkable that in some cases the verses quoted from the Rājamārtaṇḍa in such digests as the Varṣakriyākaumudī and Śuddhikaumudī are not all found in the ms. of Rājamārtaṇḍa. For example, the Varṣakriyākaumudī quotes (on p. 320) 4½ verses from the Rājamārtaṇḍa and adds that they were taken from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, but in the ms. of Rājamārtaṇḍa only two of them occur (1229-1230). On pp. 341-342 the Varṣakriyākaumudī quotes 14½ verses on the procedure of offering *arghya* to Agastya from Rājamārtaṇḍa. Only eight are common to both. Out of five verses quoted by the Śuddhikaumudī (p. 198) from the Rājamārtaṇḍa only three occur in my ms. of the latter (*viz.*, verses 617, 618, 607).

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36. तथा राजमार्तण्डे—

गव्यपयो गुडपूपं घृतदधिमधुपायसं क्रमेणैव ।
तरुणद्विजाय दद्यादनिष्टनाडीविशुद्ध्यर्थम् ॥

वर्षक्रियाकौमुदी p. 116. The ms. of राजमार्तण्ड reads (folio 51a verses 786-797) गव्य पयो गुडधूम (?) सुतघृतपायसं क्रमेणह । वृद्धद्विजाय दद्यादनिष्टताराविशुद्ध्यर्थम् । The six things, cow's milk etc., are to be given respectively in the case of the six evil nāḍīs.

Similarly, out of three verses cited by the Śuddhikaumudī[37] (p. 204) from the Rājamārtaṇḍa only one (verse 401) occurs in the ms. of the latter work and the other two are found in Bhujabala.

This state of things leads one to infer that either the ms. used by me is defective and the digests referred to above had better mss. before them or that the Rājamārtaṇḍa was revised and enlarged after it was first composed. In this connection it is pertinent to note that some Tattvas of Raghunandana several times mention or quote from a work called Bṛhad-rājamārtaṇḍa and in some of these the quotation from the Bṛhad-rājamārtaṇḍa is immediately followed by a quotation from the Rājamārtaṇḍa. A few examples may be cited. On p. 25 of the Tithitattva (Jiv. Vol. I) there is mention of the view of the Bṛhad-rājamārtaṇḍa and a little lower down two verses of Bhojarāja (which occur in Bhujabala p. 129 verse 600 and p. 132 verse 615) are quoted and immediately afterwards two verses (63 and 277) of Rājamārtaṇḍa are cited. The Jyotistattva[38] (Jiv. I p. 605), after quoting from the

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37. राजमार्तण्डे—

रविशुद्धौ ग्रहकरणं रविगुरुशुद्धौ व्रतोद्वाहौ ।
क्षौरं तारकशुद्धया शेषं चन्द्राश्रितं कर्म ॥
गौडेऽमरेज्यार्कशशाङ्कशुद्धौ पूज्यस्तथैकस्य च कामरूपे ।
कर्णाटनाटङ्ग(लाटाङ्ग ?)कलिङ्गदेशे जीवस्य चाभ्युन्नतिदो विवाहः ॥
बृहस्पतौ शोभनगोचरस्थे विवाहमिच्छन्ति हि दाक्षिणात्याः ।
रवौ विशुद्धे प्रवदन्ति गौडा न गोचरो मानवके (मालवके ?) प्रमाणम् ॥

शुद्धिकौमुदी p. 204. The last is राजमार्तण्ड verse 401, the first is भुजबल (p. 135 verse 629, reads रविशुद्धौ परिणयनं) and the second is read in भुजबल (p. 36 verse 151) as ओड्रेऽमरेज्यार्कशशाङ्कशुद्धौ बुधस्य चैकस्य च कामरूपे)

38. सार्वकालिक इत्यस्य विषयमाह भुजबलभीमे—

ग्रहशुद्धिमब्दशुद्धिं शुद्धिं मासायनर्तुदिवसानाम् ।
अर्वाग्दशवर्षेभ्यो मुनयः कथयन्ति कन्यकानाम् ॥ ...
कृत्यचिन्तामणौ । ... बृहद्राजमार्तण्डे—
सर्वाणि शुभकर्माणि कुर्यादस्तंगते सिते ।
विवाहं मखलाबन्धं यात्रां च परिवर्जयेत् ॥
ज्योतिस्तत्त्व (Jiv. Vol. I p. 605)

Bhujabalabhīma a verse that in the case of maidens the sages declare that the proper (or auspicious) character of planets, the year, *ayana*, season, month and day are to be considered (only) till they become ten years old, and a verse from Kṛtyacintāmaṇi, quotes a verse from the Bṛhad-rājamārtaṇḍa to the effect that all auspicious acts except marriage, Upanayana and Yātrā (king's starting on an invasion) may be done even when Venus is invisible. On p. 655 of the Jyotistattva some verses on *Karṇavedha* are quoted from Māṇḍavya, Bṛhad-rājamārtaṇḍa and Kṛtyacintāmaṇi and then immediately afterwards a verse on the subject of the inauspicious times for Karṇavedha is cited from Rājamārtaṇḍa.[39] The Malamāsatattva (Jiv. I p. 745) cites a verse from the Bṛhad-rājamārtaṇḍa to the effect that if a woman undergoes no ceremony of sīmantonnayana and gives birth to a son, then after placing the child on her lap that ceremony should be performed on her. In Saṁskāratattva (913) the verse quoted from the Bṛhad-rājamārtaṇḍa in the Malamāsatattva p. 745 and two more are cited from the latter work on sīmantonnayana. These verses cannot be traced in the Rājamārtaṇḍa nor in the Bhujabala. On p. 826 (Jiv. Vol. I) the Malamāsatattva quotes a verse from Bṛhad-rājamārtaṇḍa about the retrograde motion of Mars and other planets.[39-a] The Bṛhad-rājamārtaṇḍa is also quoted in Tithitattva p. 166, in Malamāsatattva p. 824 (two verses), 845 (same as in Tithitattva p. 166) and Saṁskāratattva p. 913 (3 verses, one of which is the same as the one quoted by Malamāsatattva on p. 745).

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39. राजमार्तण्डे—

न जन्ममासे न च चैत्रपौषे न युग्मवर्षे न हरौ प्रसुप्ते ।
रवौ च दुष्टे न च कृष्णपक्षे न जन्मभे कर्णविधिः प्रशस्तः ॥

ज्योतिस्तत्त्व p. 655. I could not trace this verse in my ms. of राजमार्तण्ड, but a very similar verse occurs in भुजबल p. 133 v. 623:
'न जन्म...पौषे न भाद्रसंज्ञे न हरौ प्रशस्ते (? प्रसुप्ते) ।
तिथौ च रिक्ते न च विष्टिदुष्टे कर्णस्य वेधं मुनयो वदन्ति' ॥

39a. बृहद्राजमार्तण्डे—

वक्रातिचारोपगताः कुजाद्या यद्यन्यराशौ परिवर्जनीयाः ।
यथाक्रमस्थाः स्वगृहस्थिता वा न वर्जनीया यवना वदन्ति ॥
मलमासतत्त्व p. 826.

It appears to me from the preceding discussion that the Rājamārtaṇḍa and the Bṛhad-rājamārtaṇḍa are distinct works, but the former has been far more popular than the latter.

A few words must be said about the Vyavahārasamuccaya. There is a ms. in the Bombay University's mss. collection called Vyavahārasamuccaya described in Prof. Devasthali's Cat. of Sanskrit and Prakrit mss. in the Bombay University Library (p. 190 No. 457). The verse cited above (in note 15a) as quoted from the Vyavahārasamuccaya was found by me in that ms. on folio 18b (verse 192). The work contains only 677 verses, *i.e.*, it is less than half of the extent of the Bhujabala or Rājamārtaṇḍa. In the colophon at the end the work is styled Jyotiḥśāstra and is said to have been composed by Upādhyāya Musthara. This colophon creates a problem. Musthara is a strange name and seems to be corrupt. We have the evidence of the Malamāsatattva (p. 831) which quotes a verse[40] from Bhojadeva-Vyavahārasamuccaya that Bhoja wrote a Vyavahārasamuccaya.[41] A few quotations from the Vyavahārasamuccaya are noted later on. Even on a cursory examination it turned out that dozens of verses therein are identical with verses from Bhujabala and Rājamārtaṇḍa.[42] On folio 8 a there is verse 84 (gauryāḥ putro......ṣaṣṭhike namaḥ) which is the same as Bhujabala p. 121 verse 557. Four verses of Rājamārtaṇḍa (1389-1392) about the special merit accruing to bathers at

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40. भोजदेवव्यवहारसमुच्चये—

सर्वं कार्यं न कुर्वीत गुरौ सिंहेऽस्तगेऽपि च ।
व्रतदीक्षे न कुर्वीत तमोयुक्ते बृहस्पतौ ॥
मलमासतत्त्व p. 831. तमोयुक्ते means राहुयुक्ते.

41. व्यवहारसमुच्चये कृत्यचिन्तामणौ च हारीतः—

कृत्वातिचारं यदि पूर्वराशिं नायाति मन्त्री विबुधाधिपानाम् ।
यानं विवाहं व्रतबन्धगेहं सर्वं तदा हन्ति मतं मुनीनाम् ॥
अतिचारं गते जीवे वृषे वृश्चिककुम्भयोः ।
यज्ञोद्वाहादिकं कुर्यात्तत्र कालो न लुप्यते ॥

मलमासतत्त्व p. 286. The first is भुजबल p. 273 verse 1234 and occurs on folio 5b verse 52 of the ms. of व्यवहारसमुच्चय ।

42. किं कुर्वन्ति ग्रहाः सर्वे यत्र केन्द्रे बृहस्पतिः ।
मत्तवारणसङ्घातः सिंहेनैकेन हन्यते ॥
व्यवहारसमुच्चय folio 60b, भुजबल p. 280 verse 1262.

different tīrthas on Mahāmāghī and other Paurṇimās occur in the Vyavahārasamuccaya on folio 49b. A characteristic verse on Yātrā occurs in both Vyavahārasamuccaya folio 60b and Bhujabala. A verse (Vāpīkūpataḍāgayāgagamanam...... astam gate bhārgave) of the Vyavahārasamuccaya (folio 4a, verse 37) is quoted with a slight variation in the 4th pada by the Śuddhikaumudī (p. 223) from the Bhīmaparākrama. The Nirṇayasindhu (I p. 23) quotes two verses from Vyavahārasamuccaya[43] on the karaṇa called Viṣṭi or Bhadrā. The same work quotes a verse which sets out the ten doṣas of a muhūrta enumerated in Vyavahārōccaya.[44]

We know from the Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. III. 17) that Dhāreśvara was styled *Ācārya* and was spoken of as *Sūri* by the Smṛticandrikā (on śrāddha p. 257, Gharpure's edition). If the Vyavahārasamuccaya was compiled by some scholar at the bidding of Bhoja the work could have been ascribed to him. It is possible that Musthara is a corruption of *Camūsthira* formed on the analogy of Yudhiṣṭhira as an epithet of Bhoja and that some scribe called him Upādhyāya. I am of the opinion that there is weighty evidence for holding that

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43. व्यवहारसमुच्चये—

दशम्यामष्टम्यां प्रथमघटिकापञ्चकपरं
हरिद्युस्सप्तम्यां द्विदशघटिकान्तेभिघटिकम् ।
तृतीया राकायां ख-यमघटिकाभ्यः परभवं
शुभं विष्टेः पुच्छं शिवतिथिचतुर्थ्योऽस्तु विरमे ॥

तत्रैव—

सर्पिणी तु सिते पक्षे कृष्णे चैव तु वृश्चिकी ।
सर्पिण्यास्तु मुखं त्याज्यं वृश्चिक्याः पुच्छमेव च ॥

निर्णयसिन्धु I p. 23. There is a व्यवहारसमुच्चय by हरिगण

44. अथ दश दोषाः—

व्यवहारोच्चये—

वेधश्च लत्ता च तथैव पातः खर्जूरवेधो दशयोगचक्रम् ।
युतिश्च जामित्रमुपग्रहश्च बाणाख्यवज्रे च दशैव दोषाः ।

एषां लक्षणं ज्योतिषे ज्ञेयम् । निर्णयसिन्धु (III पूर्वार्ध p. 309). There is a Vyavahāroccaya by सुरेश्वर उपाध्याय. This and the quotations in the preceding note do not appear to have been taken from the Vyavahārasamuccaya of Bhoja's reign.

the Vyavahārasamuccaya quoted in the Bhujabala is a work of Bhoja (or one compiled under his patronage). The following is a list of striking verses from the ms. of Vyavahārasamuccaya, that occur in the Bhujabala or Rājamārtaṇḍa or both. Some abbreviations are used here in this list for saving space, *viz.*, B.P. for Bhīmaparākrama, B.B. for Bhujabala, R. M. for Rājamārtaṇḍa, VS. for Vyavahārasamuccaya and v. for verse or verses.

(1) VS folio 1 v. 2 and 3 'Śaśāṅkatārayoḥ' and 'janmatriṣaṣṭha' are same in BB p. 1 v. 3 and 6.

(2) VS v. 52, folio 5b 'Kṛtvāticāram' is BB p. 273 v. 1234, while the Śuddhikaumudī p. 229 quotes it from BP.

(3) VS folio 5b, v. 58 'Svaśuddhyā yoṣitām karma' is RM folio 4b v. 59.

(4) VS folio 8a, v. 85 'Tṛtīye śaśinaḥ pakṣe' is BB p. 121, v. 559.

(5) VS folio 8b, v. 93-95 'Sārdhamāsadvaye', 'Dinakaracandra', and 'Duścikya-lābhāri' are BB p. 124 v. 574-576 and RM folio 14b, v. 230, 234.

(6) VS folio 11b, v. 122 'na janmamāse' is BB p. 135 v. 623.

(7) VS folio 12b v. 132 'Abde viśuddhe' is RM folio 24a v. 376.

(8) VS folio 13a v. 137 'Saptamī cāṣṭamīviddhā' is BB p. 139 v. 652 and RM folio 23a, v. 363. Both read 'Aṣṭamī saptamīviddhā'.

(9) VS folio 13b v. 144 'Grahe ravīndvoḥ' is BB p. 145 v. 680.

(10) VS folio 14a v. 147 'Pauṣādi caturo' is RM folio 23b v. 368.

(11) VS folio 21a v. 226 'Godhūlīm trividhām' is BB p. 176, v. 840 and RM folio 35-a, v. 555.

(12) VS folio, 43b 'Yugmāgnikṛta' and 'Pratipadyapyamāvāsya' are same as RM folio 69b verses 1123-24 and BB p. 329 v. 1502-1503.

(13) VS folio 43b 'Ekādaśyāṣṭamī' and 'Kharvo darpastathā' are BB p. 330 v. 1504 and 1510 and RM folio 69-b and 70-a, v. 1121 and 1132.

(14) VS folio 44a 'Śuklapakṣe tithir' is RM folio 70b, v. 1136 and BB p. 331, v. 1511.

(15) VS folio 45b 'Mandā mandākinī' is BB folio 335, v. 1544.

(16) VS folio 51a 'Simhaḥ Prasenam avadhīt' (This is to be recited as a mantra if one happens to see the Moon on Bhādrapada-śukla 4 to avoid a false charge of theft). BB p. 353 prescribes the same verse. It occurs in the story of the fight of Kṛṣṇa with Jāmbavān. *Vide* Brahmapurāṇa 16.36, Vāyu 96.42.[44-a]

(17) VS folio 51b-53-b has 30 verses on Agastyārghya-dāna out of which several occur in RM such as 'aprāpte bhāskare', 'dvijo yathālābham' (folio 73-a v. 1213, 1221-22, 1226).

(18) VS folio 50b and 51a 'Ehyehi sarvāmara', 'Vajrahasta' are the same as RM folio 77-a, v. 1289-90 (mantras at the end of Indradhvaja festival).

The state of affairs described at length in the preceding pages is somewhat bewildering. It is clear, however, that the Bhīmaparākrama and the Vyavahārasamuccaya were both composed before the Bhujabala, since both are quoted in the Bhujabala. It appears to me that the Rājamārtaṇḍa was composed after Bhujabala, since the former deals far more elaborately with certain subjects than the latter. Similarly, the Bṛhad-rājamārtaṇḍa is later than the Rājamārtaṇḍa. The important question is why five distinct works (Bhīmaparākrama, Vyavahārasamuccaya, Bhujabala, Rājamārtaṇḍa and Bṛhad-rājamārtaṇḍa), very often covering the same topics were given to the world, if the author was king Bhoja himself. It is difficult to give a categorical reply to this question. One has to remember that distinguished authors often write two sets of books on the same subject. The name of Varāhamihira who preceded Bhoja by at least five centuries at once leaps up to

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44a. The Samayapradīpa, folio 37b, says भाद्रपदशुक्लचतुर्थ्यां चन्द्रदर्शनेन मिथ्याभिशापभागी स्यादिति प्रवादसहितश्चन्द्रादर्शनसमाचारः ।

one's mind. Varāhamihira[45] composed his famous major work, the Bṛhatsaṁhitā and also a shorter work called Samāsa-saṁhitā or Svalpasaṁhitā, Vivāhapaṭala and Bṛhad-vivāha-paṭala, Yogayātrā and Bṛhad-yogayātrā. In these double sets of works, the same ideas, rules and principles are couched in different words though here and there the same verses occur in the different works. But here we have at least five works ascribed to Bhoja in which many topics are the same and hundreds of verses are common. It appears to me probable that Bhoja held discussions with his *pandits* on matters of astrology and its bearing on Dharmaśāstra, commissioned several of them to compose in their own way several works, the pandits took their own time to write the works and they were made public at different times, but as the inspiration to write them came from Bhoja, their great patron, they were ascribed to him. This hypothesis would explain all the known facts, particularly the large number of works composed on the same subjects by apparently the same author, the occurrence of hundreds of common verses in Bhujabala and Rājamārtaṇḍa and the circumstance that Bhujabala quotes the Bhīmaparā-krama and Vyavahārasamuccaya.

A word may be said about the titles Bhujabala (or Bhujabalabhīma) and Bhīmaparākrama. They were *birudas* applied to or assumed by Bhoja, the first meaning 'whose strength is in his arms' or 'who was a veritable Bhīma in the prowess of his arms' and the second meaning 'whose valour was terrific' or 'whose valour was like that of Bhīma, the Pāṇḍava hero'. Further, it is not surprising if some later copyist wrote 'Upādhyāya Camūsthira'. It should be noted that the Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya III. 24 speaks of Dhāreśvarācārya. For high-sounding names of royal or high placed authors, *vide* History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I, p. 407 note 993 (for Dalapati), p. 411 note 1004 (Pratāpa-rudra), p. 445 note 1114 for Vīrasiṁha, patron of Mitramiśra.

But we have not yet done with Bhoja and his works on Dharmaśāstra and astrology. It appears from quotations in the Kṛtyaratnākara and other works that he composed a work variously called Bhūpālasamuccaya or Bhūpālakṛtyasamuccaya

45. For the works of Varāhamihira and for the same verses being common to several works of his, see my paper on 'Varāha-mihira and Utpala' in the JBBRAS, Vol. 24-25 for 1948-49 pp. 1-4 and pp 21-22 may be consulted.

or briefly Kṛtyasamuccaya on vratas, dānas etc. On p. 313 the Kṛtyaratnākara tells us that a certain vrata was called Navamīvrata by Bhūpālakṛtyasamuccaya and on p. 496 the same work states that what Bhūpālakṛtyasamuccaya called Tiladvādaśī was described by the Kalpataru and Pārijāta not under vratas but under Naiyatakālika (*i.e.*, matters which it was one's duty to perform at certain fixed times). After quoting two verses about the importance of Upavāsa and nakta the Kṛtyaratnākara (p. 58)[46] states that the Pārijāta held the view that the verse enjoins the observance of nakta and the first three pādas of it are in the nature of an *anuvāda* and explains away the view of Bhojabhūpāla. On p. 205 the Kṛtyaratnākara says that the Bhūpālasamuccaya states that Viṣṇu is to be raised from his couch on Kārtika-śukla ekādaśī, which leads on to the proper conclusion that Viṣṇu goes to sleep on Āṣāḍha-śukla-ekādaśī. In several other places the Kṛtyaratnākara speaks of Kṛtyasamuccaya only (on pp. 289, 449, 512, 515, 536). But it is clear from the way in which the Kṛtyaratnākara deals with the names Bhūpālasamuccaya and Kṛtyasamuccaya that reference is to a Bhūpālakṛtyasamuccaya. The Kṛtyaratnākara (p. 171) refers to the view of Bhūpāla on the procedure of the gift of a black antelope skin from Matsyapurāṇa (Chap. 206). On p. 175 the Kṛtyaratnākara mentions Bhūpāla in the same breath with Kalpataru. The Kṛtyaratnākara (p. 635)[47] quotes an interesting verse and

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46. उपवासात्परं भैक्ष्यं भैक्ष्यात्परमयाचितम् ।
अयाचितात्परं नक्तं तस्मान्नक्तेन वर्तयेत् ॥
एकभक्तेन नक्तेन तथैवायाचितेन च ।
उपवासेन भैक्ष्येण नैवाद्वादशिको भवेत् ॥

पारिजातस्तु नक्तमात्रविधिरेवायम्, उपवासात्परं भैक्ष्यमित्यादि खण्डत्रयमनुवादमात्रमित्याह । इदं तु युक्तम् । **भोजभूपाललिखितनक्तवाक्यसन्दर्भान्तर्गतत्वेन** नक्तविधायकत्वेऽस्य स्थितेऽसङ्गतमपीदं नक्ते प्रवृत्तिमतिशयेनाधातुमुक्तम् । कृत्यरत्नाकर pp. 57, 58. The first verse is quoted from भविष्यपुराण by कृत्यरत्नाकर.

47. दशम्येकादशीविद्धा गान्धारी तामुपोषिता ।
तस्याः पुत्रशतं नष्टं तस्मात्तां परिवर्जयेत् ॥

इति निन्दानुवाद इत्यपि । तदेवं तिथिद्वयमात्रमभिधाय मूकायां स्मृतौ सङ्कल्परूपप्रधानव्रतपदार्थानुरोधादेश्च **भूपालानुगतस्याप्यतिप्रसङ्गनसमाकुलत्वे** महाजनपरिगृहीतवचनमेव व्यवस्थायां शरणम् ॥ कृत्यर. p. 635. The verse

remarks on the view of Bhūpāla thereon. In the Samayapradīpa of Śrīdatta which is a work earlier than the Kṛtyaratnākara the views of Bhoja-bhūpāla are mentioned. For example, on folio 8-b it first refers[48] to the interpretation of texts relied upon by Gauḍas as regards decision when tithis are mixed up (viddhā), it refers to the views of Bhūpāla. On the materials so far available the reference must be held to be to the Bhūpālakṛtyasamuccaya. Even a somewhat late work like the Nirṇayasindhu (composed in 1612 A. D.) mentions the view of *Bhūpāla*[49] on the question of the avoidance of certain vegetables, fruits, corn, salt, oil, shaving and sexual intercourse on certain tithis from the first to the 15th.

There is another work called Vidvajjanavallabha[50] ascribed to king Bhoja dealing with astrological matters; *vide* Descriptive Catalogue of Mss., Tanjore, Vol. XVI No. 11604 (for two mss. of it in 18 chapters such as *lābha*, śatrusamāgama, yātrāphala etc.); there is also a fragment of it in the Bikaner Library (*vide* Mitra's Catalogue No. 753) and another

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दशम्येकादशीविद्धा is राजमार्तण्ड folio 71a v. 1154 and quoted in the समयप्रदीप of श्रीदत्त (folio 6b of D.C. ms. No. 371 of 1875-76 which is a work on vratas earlier than the Kṛtyaratnākara that mentions on p. 66 श्रीदत्त, author of the समयप्रदीप, and the latter itself on p. 233.

48. तदेवं गौडीयवचनानि प्रमाणयतां तदनुसारेण व्यवस्थोक्ता । भूपालादिमते तु सप्तम्येकादश्योर्वाचनिकी व्यवस्था । तिथ्यन्तरेषु तु प्रधानकालानुरोधन्यायादुदयकालव्यापिन्यादर इति प्रागेव दर्शितम् । folio 8b of समयप्रदीप D.C. ms. No. 371 of 1875-76. In the same ms. on folio 37a there is a referencc to Bhūpālanibandha on Rohiṇī-Aṣṭamī 'भूपालादिनिबन्धेष्वपि रोहिण्यष्टम्यां शिवपूजोपवासादिकृत्यमुक्तं किं तु न भाद्रोल्लेखेन ॥

49. भूपालः—

कूष्माण्डं बृहती क्षारं मूलकं पनसं फलम् ।
धात्री शिरःकपालान्त्रं नख-चर्म-तिलानि च ।
क्षुरकर्माङ्गनासेवां प्रतिपत्प्रभृति त्यजेत् ॥

निर्णयसिन्धु I p. 37; धात्री means आमलक, शिरः means cocoanut, Kapāla is the white gourd, अन्त्र is snake gourd, nakha is beans like pāvtā (in Marathi) and Carma is the *dal* called masūrikā.

50. I owe the references to the mss. of Vidvajjanavallabha to the kindness of Dr. V. Raghavan.

fragment in Florence. I have not been able to secure the mss. of this work or a transcript. This paper has already become rather long. The Vidvajjanavallabha may be dealt with in a separate paper later on.

In conclusion I express the hope that critical editions of the Ratnamālā (about first half of 11th century A.D.) and of the Rājamārtaṇḍa so profusely quoted in medieval Dharmaśāstra works would be undertaken by some young scholars in the near future. There are two good mss. of the Ratnamālā in the BBRAS and one ms. with the commentary of Mahādeva composed in śaka 1185 (*i.e.* 1263 A.D.) in Bombay University Library and several mss. in the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona. Of the Rājamārtaṇḍa also there are many mss. These two are amongst the earliest extant nibandhas on such topics of Dharmaśāstra as Samskāras, intercalary month, tithis, vratas and utsavas of various kinds.

7—1—1953.

Nālanda, Past and Present

Dr. Nathmal Tatia of the Pali Institute of Nālanda gave a talk on "Nālanda, Past and Present" and explained the Bihar Government's plans to develop an Institute for Buddhistic and Jain Studies at Nālanda, the site of the ancient Buddhistic monastery and university.

16—1—1953.

Vedānta in America

Brahmachari John R. Yale, Hollywood, Managing Editor, "*Vedanta and the West*" spoke on "Vedanta in America." Prof. D. S. Sarma presided.

Mr. Yale said that the Vedanta Society which had its headquarters in Hollywood, had a fine centre in Paris and another in London, and they had devotees who were anxious to have societies in Germany, Switzerland and Sweden. In America itself, there were about a dozen centres. On the eastern coast of the Atlantic Ocean, there was one in Boston, one in Providence, two in New York, one in St. Louis, and another on the Pacific coast, two in San Francisco, and one in Hollywood. For this particular centre in Hollywood, the inspiration came from Swami Vivekananda through Sister Nivedita, who was his hostess when he visited Los Angeles. Thirty years ago, Swami Prabhavananda came to America and used Sister Nivedita's home to do propaganda for the establishment of the Vedanta Society in Hollywood. This house became known as the Vivekananda Home. The Vedanta Society in Hollywood had a Convent at Santa Barbara, a seaside city about 80 miles north of Hollywood, a monastery for the *brahmacharis* about 70 miles south of Hollywood, and a house in Hollywood which was used for public activity.

Mr. Yale said that the Vedanta Society of Southern California was a religious corporation. They had a constitution and bye-laws and a Board of Trustees of nine members from whom the office-bearers were elected. There were about 250 regular members and 21 monastic members, including women. In addition to these members they came into contact with thousands of people through their periodical. In their store, many of the books published in India were sold. Referring to the sources of financial support, he said they got money from their members and other contributors. Swami Prabhavananda delivered lectures on the Gita and Upanishads every week. The members celebrated Devi puja, Kali puja and Sivaratri every year. At the Convent at Santa Barbara, they had about 10 *brahmacharinis* who composed religious music.

The speaker said that Vedanta work in the West consisted mostly of public teaching and spiritual instruction given by the Swamiji and conduct of group meditation. The New York and the London centres had magazines. They had shrines and most of them had a regular meditation period. He said that people who were dissatisfied with the ideals that they pursued in life generally found immense solace in Oriental philosophy. The kind of persons who came were "disillusioned idealists", and such persons made good Vedantic devotees. Even people who had no previous belief in Vedanta became very enthusiastic. They were very much interested in India and wanted to know everything about India and wished to know about the people in this country. But he would not say that Vedanta in the West was a popular movement because it was not very widespread. The reason as to why the westerners appreciated Vedanta was that in the first place it provided a very sensible philosophy. The westerners liked the psychology that it offered. By psychology he meant this—it taught them how to help themselves. Further, they liked it because the people who taught the philosophy were themselves good examples of those who lived this philosophy. They liked meditation and spiritual types of Swamis, men of renunciation. Another thing that appealed

to westerners was the idea of the *guru*. This was something they did not have in Christianity. The universality of Vedanta appealed to the westerners and they could accept it as a way of life without feeling that they were being converted to something else.

Prof. D. S. Ṣarma said that they must remember that the roots of Vedanta lay in this country. Unless they made their laws and institutions conduce to the spirit of Vedanta, they could not make Vedanta live.

Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar proposed a vote of thanks.

17—1—1953.

The Mahābhārata Ideal

Sri Masti Venkatesa Iyengar, the distingnished Kannaḍa writer, gave a lecture on the 'Mahābhārata Ideal.'

Describing the Mahabharata as one of our great sacred inheritances, the lecturer said that we must study works like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, which ruled the people's mind for centuries in the past. Mahatma Gandhi had told them, just before his death, that India had a unique responsibility to the world unlike other nations and that responsibility could be discharged by India alone by her unselfishness.

The basic ideal that had ruled India throughout the ages was the stability of *Dharma*, *Satya* and *Jiva*. The ideals of *Ahimsa*, *Aparigraha*, *Brahmacharya* and *Satya*, which Mahatma Gandhi taught us, were not new things to Hindu culture, though to some people, who had been brought up in other traditions, they seemed to have been forgotten.

Stressing the need for purifying one's inner self and spiritual outlook, Mr. Venkatesa Iyengar said in the Mahabharata they found not only ideal characters but also characters in various levels and also a variety of episodes, not found in the Ramayana. The one spirit underlying the whole epic, however, was that without *Dharma*, there could be no *Artha* or *Kama*, and all other things were unstable. Cleansing of the spiritual self was more important than the cleansing of the physical body. The *Artha* or material benefits which we got through *Adharma* were as injurious as poison in a sweetmeat. *Dharma* and *Satya* were the elementary principles which would lead one to physical as well as spiritual uplift.

Vyasa had in the epic stressed in all his episodes the need for purifying one's inner self and also the need to follow the principle of *Sarvabhutahite rata*—doing good to others.

Mr. Venkatasa Iyengar said the Bharata ideal was a great conception, a high water-mark of human attainment. Vyasa wanted India to follow that ideal. "It should be our aim to have a Nala, an Arjuna, a Yudhishthira, a Bhima, a Savitri and a Harischandra in our country, not in pictures or books but as living personalities, to be found in the everyday life of our country. We have to follow those ideals, in the first place, for our own personal salvation, in the second place, for the salvation of this country, and in the third place, for the salvation of the world. We are in the midst of two conflicting blocks. The hope of the world lies in a man who will bravely stand up and say, 'Do not fight''. In conclusion, the lecturer referred to the Indian Prime Minister's efforts to sustain peace between the two blocks and said he was as helpless as Lord Krishna was when he went to Duryodhana with his peace mission. But Mr. Nehru represented a great nation and a great tradition and was the disciple of a great man who was the repository of five thousand years' old tradition and culture.

Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar proposed a vote of thanks.

6—5—1953.

Send off to Dr. V. Raghavan

There was joint meeting of the K. S. R. Institute and the Madras Samskrit Academy to give a send off to Dr. V. Raghavan on the eve of his departure to Europe for the survey of uncatalogued Samskrit Mss. collections in connection with his *New Catalogus Catalogorum* work in the Madras University. Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, President of the Institute, was in the chair.

Among the messages received wishing *bon voyage* to Dr. Raghavan was one from H. E. Sri Sri Prakasa, Governor of Madras. His Excellency said:

"Dr. Raghavan has undertaken a great mission to enrich our noble heritage of Samskrit literature at which foreigners worked harder than ourselves. It is in the fitness of things, therefore, that Dr. Raghavan, himself a distinguished Samskrit scholar, should have undertaken the preparation of a *Catalogus*

Catalogorum by visiting foreign countries and examining the collections of Samskrit manuscripts in the British and other European libraries. I wish him all success for this monumental work and noble misson."

After the Chairman who conveyed the good wishes of the members to Dr. Raghavan, Sri S. Varadachariar spoke and said that, apart from collecting information about manuscripts, "Dr. V. Raghavan would, as a great Samskrit scholar, avail himself of every opportunity for promoting such influence as Samskrit culture might have in European countries and would bring back in return such useful influence as European countries could exercise on Samskrit studies in this country." Sri K. S. Ramaswami Sastri said that Dr. Raghavan, who was not only a critical scholar but a poet, was going on a mission which was bound to enhance the prestige of the country. Prof. D. S. Sarma said that there were things which they could learn from the West. Dr. A. Sankaran said that Dr. Raghavan was one of the foremost students of Prof. Kuppuswami Sastriar and the work of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* had rightly fallen to him. The Hon. Justice T. L. Venkatarama Iyer hoped that Dr. Raghavan would be able to discover some of the mss. of music works which are not traceable now in India. Sri E. K. Natesa Sarma, Lecturer in Tamil, referred to Dr. Raghavan's Tamil writings.

Mr. N. Raghunatha Iyer said that since the attainment of freedom, this country had spent a lot of money on people whom it had sent abroad either to complete their studies or to begin them. This seemed to have made no difference either to the cultural, literary or administrative life of the country. Dr. Raghavan's visit to Europe, however, was bound to prove fruitful to India's cultural interests. There were two kinds of scholarship—the accumulative and the creative. Dr. Raghavan's belonged to the second category. His visit to Europe was a thing to be welcomed from all points of view.

Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer gave an account of how the Madras University came to undertake the New Catalogus Catalogorum work. The late Dr. Woolner of Lahore, Professor of Sanskrit and Vice-Chancellor, wrote that the Madras University Samskrit Department was best fitted to do this work. The work however had made only slow progress owing to lack of

wide support, financial aid and encouragement to Dr. Raghavan who had been at it from the inception. The work, Sri Iyer said, was of an importance which was not merely All-India but International. Next to the Tamil Lexicon, it would form the most glorious achievement of the Madras University.

Replying to the good wishes of the members, Dr. Raghavan assured them that he would take whatever they had said in appreciation of the work done and being done by him as a directive for greater dedication of his life to the cause he was devoted to. He explained the scope and nature of the mss. work he proposed to do, referred to the importance of some of the Sanskrit mss. collections in Europe and mentioned the assistance he had received for his tour from the British Council and the Madras University. He referred also to the help and co-operation promised by some of the countries, universities, learned societies and Sanskrit scholars in Europe.

4—7—1953.

Badrinath and Kedarnath

Sri N. Raghunatha Iyer gave a lecture on his "Impressions of Badrinath and Kedarnath". The speaker who had returned after a pilgrimage to the Himalayas, gave a picture of the Himalayan countryside and said that travel in this area was sure to have a tonic effect on anyone.

The Tehri-Gharwal area, known in the *Puranas* as *Uttarakhanda* was, Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar said, of a hoary tradition and associated with many heroes and gods of the Hindu mythology and pantheon. Of the numerous holy places in this area, sanctified by the Ganges, the Bhagirathi, the Alakananda, the Mandakini and other *tirthas*, four were most cherished—the *Charodham* of popular reverence, *viz.*, Gangotri, Yamunotri, Kedarnath and Badrinath. He could visit during the 26 days he spent in this area only Kedarnath and Badrinath. The trip to Kedarnath was somewhat more strenuous than the trip to Badrinath, on account of the conditions of the route to be taken. *Chatties* small hutments) on the route at every third or fourth mile provided places of shelter and rest for pilgrims. Victuals were available at all these places, though these became more costly as one advanced along the route on account of the distance over which they had to be brought, and the increasing demand. Milk of excellent quality was available at all the places, at prices varying

from one rupee to three rupees per seer (half Madras measure). He found that the best way to undertake the trip was to go with half rations, with only liquid diet in the evenings. For a party of three of which he was one, the expense per head per day was a little more than three rupees.

Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar dwelt on the grandeur of the scenery particularly at great heights, and said that the landscape of the mountains was not the same as that in the ghats of South India. They were of unsurpassed majesty, with great mountains rising range upon range, snow-capped hills, sheer precipices and deep ravines, along which rivers roared, and at some places cascaded on myriads of stony ridges. The Badrinath shrine stood behind a ridge of mountains and one came rather abruptly on the shrine beside the lovely Alakananda. After the arduous journey, the sight disclosed to him was something enthralling.

Describing the shrine and the *pujas* there, Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar said that though the rituals might not be the same as one was accustomed to in South Indian temples, and the *mantras* are chanted not the same way as here, yet the devout *bhakti* of the thousands congregating there was something inspiring. The pilgrims brought little children and aged relatives, sixty or seventy years old, and the ease with which they undertook the journey could only be the result of their faith and devotion.

Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar then referred to the association of the shrines in the area with the heroes of the Mahabharata and with Sankaracharya and said that a small structure at one place near Kedarnath was pointed out as the *samadhi* of that great *acharya*. The idols installed in the two shrines were of irregular shape, without defined features. But they certainly had an inspiring presence (*sannidhyam*). Though by tradition the image at Badri was associated with Narayana, devotees saw their own *Ishtadevata* in it, according as they were devotees of Vishnu, Siva or the Buddha.

There were, Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar said, facilities for comfortable travel and transport of luggage; porters, pack-animals, etc. were available. But increasing traffic, and even congestion, particularly on the Badrinath route, made conditions somewhat more difficult than they might be otherwise. The climate was generally chill and bracing. At altitudes

of 10,000 and 12,000 feet in Badri and Kedar, only *rajais* could give sufficient protection in the night when the temperature fell to about 22 degrees. While pilgrims from the south were seen in large numbers on the Badri route, they were very few on the Kedarnath route, most pilgrims in this area being from Bengal and Uttar Pradesh. A comfortable rest-house suited for South Indian pilgrims was available at Badrinath, but there was need for at least ten more such rest-houses considering the number of visitors from this part of India.

Answering questions, Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar said that the routes were free from wild animals and throughout the journey he did not have any reason to suspect their presence in the area. As for bird life, he said, he saw only three or four varieties. He said the fly nuisance was great, particularly up to about 6,000 feet, but he was told this nuisance abated in August-September or after rains.

"The greatest thing about the travel in this area," Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar said, "is that one moves in a different world altogether, absolutely free from the thought or care of the outside world and undisturbed by it."

Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar thanked Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar for his interesting talk.

18-7-53

The Late Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastriar

Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastriar who was the Second President of the K. S. R. Institute passed away on July 2, 1953.

To bemoan the great loss sustained by the cause of Sanskrit learning in the demise of Sri Sastriar, a public meeting was held under the joint auspices of the K. S. R. Institute, the Madras Sanskrit Academy and the Madras Sanskrit College. Tributes were paid to the late Sastriar's service to the cause of education and Sanskrit.

At the outset, Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer read the several messages that had been received referring to Sastriar's qualities and his public service. Among those who sent messages were: H. E. Sri Sri Prakasa, Governor of Madras, H. E. K. M. Munshi, Governor of U. P., H. E. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Governor of M. P., H. E. G. S. Bajpai,

Governor of Bombay, H. H. the Rajapramukh of Travancore-Cochin, and Prof. S. K. Belvalkar. Elegies composed for the occasion in Sanskrit, Tamil and English were also read.

Mr. Patanjali Sastri who presided said that the late Mr. Venkatarama Sastri had an abiding love for Sanskrit learning and literature. He was born in a family of Sanskrit pandits. His father was a great Sanskrit scholar. Love for Sanskrit and for our ancient culture ran in Mr. Venkatarama Sastri's veins and no wonder that, in due course, he became well-versed in the Hindu scriptures and sastras. He also developed a rationalistic outlook which led him to disavow some orthodox ritualistic practices.

Proceeding, Mr. Patanjali Sastri said that Mr. Sastri was an ardent advocate of scriptural and historical methods of Sanskrit study, the type of scholarship exemplified by the distinguished scholar, the late MM. Kuppuswami Sastri. Mr. Venkatarama Sastri was chosen as President of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute in 1946, in succession to the late Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, and he held the office till his death. He was also Vice-President of the Samskrta Academy for over quarter of a century. The greatest claim of Mr. Sastri to the gratitude of lovers of Sanskrit in this part of the country was the part he played as the President of the Dakshinabharata Sanskrit Sammelan held in 1948, in securing a place for Sanskrit in the curriculum of High School studies. It was no exaggeration to say that his masterly presentation of the case for the inclusion of Sanskrit in the curriculum saved the language from elimination by the short-sighted policy of the Government of the day.

Mr. T. V. Lakshminarayana Sastri, Asthana Vidwan, Kanchi Kamakotipitham said that Mr. Venkatarama Sastri had great interest in the Mutt and helped it in various ways.

Mr. K. Balasubramanya Sastri, Principal, Sanskrit College, read out an elegy composed in Sanskrit and Mr. M. Nooruddin read out one composed in Tamil.

Mr. V. V. Srinivasa Iyengar said that the late Mr. Venkatarama Sastri practised Vedantic philosophy and he was an ascetic so to say without the saffron robes. He had fulfilled the ideals of his life. Above all, he was a gentleman born and made and he had never offended anybody.

Mr. Satyanarayana Rao said that it was said that Sanskrit culture and Sanskrit learning were not very much required in this age. If people had entertained any doubts in their mind, he would request them to look at the life of Mr. Sastri and find out what Sanskrit culture could do to shape and mould the life of a person. Whether as a lawyer or politician or social reformer, he made an intense study of the subject and presented it in a most analytical form—a quality which every Sanskrit pandit today possessed in a great degree. Mr. Sastri had also imbibed English culture and he brought to bear on the study of the Sastras a rational and historical outlook.

Professor D. S. Sarma and Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist, Ooty, also spoke.

Moved from the chair, the following resolution was passed, all standing: "This meeting places on record its profound sense of sorrow on the sad demise of Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastriar, a great son of India, a distinguished lawyer, scholar, public leader and gentleman of culture and its great appreciation of the distinguished services rendered by him to the country, especially to the Samskrta Academy, and to the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute and to the propagation of Sanskrit and India's cultural ideals."

14—9—1953.

The Ninth Foundation Day

The Ninth Foundation Day of the K. S. R. Institute was celebrated on 14th September, 1954, with the Hon. Dr. Sampurnanand, Minister, U. P., in the chair. Earlier in the evening, the Ninth Annual General Body Meeting was also held when, after the adoption of the Annual Report and the Audited Statement of Accounts for 1952-53, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan was unanimously elected President of the Institute.

The celebrations included the holding of the closing function of the six months' course of the New Method Sanskrit Classes being conducted in the K. S. R. Institute and a demonstration of his method by Sri R. Sankarasubrahmanya Iyer, the teacher. The Commemoration Address was delivered by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, Reader in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras; the full text of his lecture on 'Sanskrit Studies in South India' is published elsewhere in this volume.

After prayer and the reading of an address in Sanskrit to Dr. Sampurnanand, Sri A. Shanmukha Mudaliar read messages received for the success of the function from Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, H. E. Sri Sri Prakasa, H. E. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, H. E. Sri M. S. Aney and others. Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer presented the Report of the work of the Institute for 1952-53.

Sri N. Raghunatha Iyer then welcomed Dr. Sampurnanand. He said that Dr. Sampurnanand was one of those politicians who were not afraid to be in the right with two or three. Dr. Sampurnanand, he said, began as an intellectual and an academician of the highest qualification and in spite of the politics he had been through, he still remained a student and a very powerful intellectual. Beginning as a schoolmaster, Dr. Sampurnanand became a Professor in the Kasi Vidyapeeth. A very distinguished writer in Hindi, he had also two or three first class works to his credit in English. Dr. Sampurnanand was also an Editor and the speaker took a little pride in annexing him to the tribe of which he happened to be a very humble representative. Indeed, Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar said, Dr. Sampurnanand's interests were not confined to the terrestrial sphere. His hobby was astronomy and just then he had been kind enough to present them with a book on Cosmogony.

One of the things that they heard with interest, Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar said, was that Dr. Sampurnanand was bent upon the conversion of the famous Banaras Sanskrit College into a University. When he was a Minister in the first Congress Ministry, Dr. Sampurnanand drafted a bill but that bill was dropped for reasons which it was not profitable to enquire into. They in the South were greatly encouraged to find that his dauntless courage was now bent upon promoting a measure from which others might benefit. The Banaras Sanskrit College enjoyed a unique reputation and if it were to become a University, it would be not merely registering a fact but hold out considerable hopes for those who regard that as one possible way of redeeming Sanskrit from the pretty deplorable plight in which it found itself to-day. At any rate, here in the South it had almost faded out of the schools.

There were quite a number of very important institutions in this part of the country but the most famous of them, the Tiruvaiyar Sanskrit College, which owed its existence to the

princely benefactions of the Maharashtra kings and occupied a status analagous to the Banaras College, was to-day faced with the prospect of extinction, so far as Sanskrit was concerned. They had heard, Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar said, but he did not know how far it was reliable, that a sort of indefinite reprieve had been granted, but the Damocles' Sword was still hanging. There were quite a number of reasons why the authorities with great reluctance were compelled to think of closing it down.. But the Maharajas of Tanjore left a sizable estate for the upkeep of the institution and even if those estates had in course of time been spent or otherwise disposed of, Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar said, he could not see why the *cy pres* doctrine which had been applied for much less urgent or legitimate cause could not be applied to keep these few institutions functioning. As for the plea of "lack of students", he said that these were quite as human as others and when they found that there were not jobs to be had and no way of keeping the wolf from the door, naturally Sanskrit had much less attraction for the younger generation than for the older. All the more honour, therefore, to such of the young men who still came forward to seek that infinite comfort, that consolation and that spiritual pabulum which only the Sanskrit language could afford.

What, however, happened was that they in the name of freedom regimented the lives of students. While he did not want to strike a note of controversy, he said that historical accuracy required him to say that the trouble began when the students in Tiruvaiyar were asked to conform in regard to messing arrangements and many other details of domestic life to the rules laid down by people who had no doubt excellent notions of how those things ought to be arranged but had no business to impose. The result was that many of the students left. To the few who still struggled there was the threat of translation to a place 200 miles away. Luckily for the moment they seemed to have been saved the desperate necessity of choosing either translation or extinction. But that kind of indefinite threat was always there and when it came to a Research Institute of the kind with which they were associated it fared even worse.

This institute, Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar said, was founded in the name of one of the greatest scholars modern India might be said to have produced, a person who in any other

country would have enjoyed a status second to none. That person, MM. Kuppuswami Sastriar, did enjoy very considerable status here but the Institute which was started as a memorial to him had not had much financial support. It had not got a pie from Government. How then could they expect research institutes to be run? Naturally they fell on the mercies of the public, who were harried by so many requests. But still they hoped that it would be able to justify itself to the public. At the same time the Government had a right and a duty to support institutions of the kind which were without any resource worth speaking. The Institute published a journal which enjoyed a remarkable status in the world of international scholarship. It had also been able to get a library, due to the kind benefactions of a number of good friends. To the extent anything could be done without money, the Institute had done more for the cultural revival of Sanskrit studies in this part of the country than any other institution.

Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar expressed the view that the future of Sanskrit, however, was with them, for the excellent reason that the younger generation of boys in the schools and in the colleges were developing an enthusiasm, a determined desire to acquire the benefits of Sanskrit learning. It was in that connection that the Institute modestly claimed to have made a beginning. Thanks to the benefaction of Mr. Chittoor Rajagopalachariar, they had been able to initiate an experiment in the teaching of Sanskrit. There was no question of simplifying the language in such a way as to falsify its content or to reduce it to some kind of Basic Sanskrit, but to propagate it in such a way that even children who had not known the alphabet were enabled to use the language creatively within a short space of six months. Mr. Sankarasubramanya Aiyar of Trivandrum had been able to evolve this new method, which Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar felt, might become a considerable power for good in the dissemination of Sanskrit and when that happened they would have rescued Sanskrit from the obloquy into which it had fallen. To-day, if the Sastras in their innumerable ramifications were not to perish and had to be appreciated, it was very necessary that an elementary knowledge of Sanskrit should become the common property of the people of this country when they would have gained not only a marvellous instrument of precision in thought and expression, namely, Sanskrit, but gain something more. It had

been well said that they could not argue a man in the English language into slavery. Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar said it could be said with equal justice that they could not argue a man in the Sanskrit language into acceptance of the animal life as the be-all and end-all of existence.

ADDRESS BY DR. SAMPURNANAND

Dr. Sampurnanand said that it was a source of gratifica- to him to associate himself with the day's function. He did not pretend to know all about the activities of the Institute but the reputation of its work had reached at least some of them in the North interested in Sanskrit. The Institute was associated with the name of a great Sanskrit scholar and he hoped that those who were working there would always be guided by the spirit of *tapasya* which characterised Sanskrit scholars all along the ages. There was considerable room for research in connection with Sanskrit studies. Of course there was such a thing as genuine as well as spurious research. So far as genuine research went he only hoped that institutes of the kind would divide the work, each one specialising in some particular branch of research.

Dr. Sampurnanand said that Sanskrit had passed through several vicissitudes, especially during the recent past. During the period of the British occupation of the country it was relegated to the position of a classical language. That sounded all right, but a classical language was a dead language and that was the position given to Sanskrit. Most of them were not prepared to admit it. From the north to the south, from the east to the west they found in hundreds of temples Sanskrit *sutras* being recited. There were crores of Hindus in this country who knew Sanskrit and no *samskara* in the life of a Hindu from birth to death would be complete unless Vedic *mantras* and *slokas* in Sanskrit formed part of the ceremony. There were literally hundreds of thousands of people who understood Sanskrit and many who could speak the language as fluently as they did their own mother-tongue and thus Sanskrit was not merely a language along with others but it was the repository of our culture. So long as there were people in the world who followed Hindu culture, which was really the most important part of Indian culture, Sanskrit could not die. It was the best expression of the soul of India and so long as India retained her soul, Sanskrit could not die.

With the dawn of independence, Dr. Sampurnanand said, he had every reason to hope that conditions would change. In fact, he believed they were changing. At least in the north he noticed a great revival of interest in the study of Sanskrit for a variety of reasons, if for no other reason than this, namely, that Sanskrit was the great mainstay of the current Indian languages. "I could assure you," he said, "that many of those who are connected with the present-day government are really interested in Sanskrit and they will like to do what they can for the spread of Sanskrit and its improvement. But it is up to you and all of us who are interested in Sanskrit to take advantage of the situation."

There were, Dr. Sampurnanand said, certain things which must be done if Sanskrit was to come into its own. For one thing, the teaching of Sanskrit must be made easy. At least in the north he must say the Sanskrit Pandit was responsible for keeping the people away from Sanskrit classes saying that Sanskrit was difficult to learn. That cry must go and must be replaced by the slogan that the study of Sanskrit was easy. If Sanskrit was to be taught easily it must not be taught as a dead language. In the north also several people were carrying on experiments. He hoped it might be possible and even desirable for such people to meet somewhere, compare notes and exchange the results of their experiments and evolve some simple method. But, even with the difficult methods he was sure that anybody with moderate intelligence could pick up enough knowledge of the language in three months to be able to understand simple Sanskrit.

A Sanskrit University

As regards the scope and status of Sanskrit, Dr. Sampurnanand said, that they in U. P. had been thinking of converting the Government Sanskrit College into a University. This college had been in existence for a little more than 160 years and many Sanskrit institutions were affiliated to it, not only those from U. P., but also those from Saurashtra, Rajasthan, Vindhya Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat. He had every hope that it would be possible in the next session of the U. P. Legislature to introduce a Bill for the purpose. But before the University came into existence, certain things had to be done and they had been taking necessary steps in that direction. One of them dealt with the

widening of the scope of Sanskrit studies. A cry had been raised from certain sections that by doing so they would be destroying the depth of learning.

His belief was, Dr. Sampurnanand said, that the student of Sanskrit from the Pathasala should be able to compete with the students from other institutions on all matters. The instruction to be imparted should be broad-based and in keeping with the developments in all branches of knowledge. They could not think of them in terms which were applicable a thousand years ago. A new approach to the study of Sanskrit had to be adopted if scholarship in Sanskrit was to be kept alive.

Describing some of the methods adopted in U. P. for the revival of Sanskrit study, Dr. Sampurnanand said that teachers of Sanskrit were placed on a par with teachers of other languages and subjects. It was, however, no good Government laying down rules if the students themselves were unable to compete with others. Recently, he said that a conference of those interested in the promotion of Sanskrit adopted a resolution that there should be uniformity in the examinations conducted by the various Universities and Government.

In conclusion, Dr. Sampurnanand said that Sanskrit was the expression of the soul of India. There had been a tremendous increase of knowledge in the world but this had not been accompanied by the training of the emotion which was necessary for the proper use of knowledge. The result was that the world seemed to be moving towards "mass suicide". Somebody must come forward and give a message which would make the world see the evil of its ways and he did not see that that message could come from anywhere except from those who were really imbued with the true spirit of Sanskrit scholarship.

Proposing a vote of thanks, Mr. K. Balasubrahmania Aiyar said that some of the things referred to by Dr. Sampurnanand as having been accomplished in his State were still dreams in Madras and some of them distant aspirations. He hoped that the Minister would see that Sanskrit was given an equal place in all the States and that an All-India University for Sanskrit was started to make the study uniform.

10-1-1954

Kumbha-mela

Prof. K. R. R. Sastri of the Allahabad University gave a talk on the " Kumbha Mela and the International Spiritual Parliament". Sri S. Varadachariar presided.

Professor Sastri said that the International Spiritual Parliament which would be held under the auspices of the International Fraternity of Monks, would be in session from February 4 to February 11. Cultural ambassadors from 38 countries had been invited to participate in the deliberations of the Parliament. Over 60 lakhs of pilgrims were expected to assemble in Allahabad for the Kumbha Mela.

28-2-54

Visit of the Chief Justice of India

On 28th February 1954, the Hon. Sri Mehr Chand Mahajan, Chief Justice of India, paid a visit to the K. S. R. Institute. A reception was held in his honour and a demonstration of the New Method Sanskrit Classes going on in the Institute, was also given.

10-4-54

Geography of the Ramayana

Prof. V. B. Athavale, M. Sc., F.R.G.S., of the Institute for Research in Ancient Indian History and Geography, Sangli, gave a talk on the " Geography of the Ramayana". Sri N. Raghunatha Iyer welcomed the speaker and Sri S. Varadachariar expressed to him the thanks of the Institute.

28-4-54

Rajasthan Art and Architecture

"Jain Examples of Rajasthan Art and Architecture" was the subject of an interesting lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, which Sri Chota Lal Jain of Culcutta delivered at the Ranade Hall, under the auspices of the Institute on 28-4-54. Sri N. Raghunatha Iyer presided.

Mr. Jain said that Rajasthan had been famous not only for its heroic deeds but also for its rich treasures of architecture and the arts. Dealing particularly with Jaipur, he said, it was rich in specimens of painting, sculpture and architecture. Even to-day, they found artists and craftsmen turning out

really good work in these spheres. Mr. Jain observed that temples played an important part in the national life of India and they fostered the growth of fine arts and learning and also contributed not a little to the advancement of culture. In India, art had never been a mere luxury; it was of the essence of life itself.

The rich Jain community in Western India was very influential at the Rajput courts and warlike Jain ministers and merchants were great patrons of art and also great builders. In his slides, the lecturer showed examples of the exquisitely finished and delicately patterned marble temples of Rajasthan and the noble statues of Mahavira and Parsvanath and other great Jain Tirthankaras. The slides related mostly to those temples found at Amber and at Sanghaner, each seven miles away from the modern city of Jaipur. At the latter place was to be found, he said, the famous temple of Sanghji dating from the 11th century. It was a fine specimen of Jain sculpture, next only to those to be found at Dilvara in Mount Abu.

The most distinctive feature of Rajasthan temples, Mr. Jain said, were to be found in their Śikharas or spires. Mr. Jain also exhibited some paintings.

In conclusion, Mr. Jain said, Rajasthan was a "rich mine of sculptural, architectural and artistic remains." He urged a detailed and intensive study of Rajasthan Art.

Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar said that the photographs they had seen were but imperfect representations of the real originals. At Dilvara and Amber, they saw beautiful buildings covered with paintings and there were a number of temples. In each of these, they found that more than the detail the entire effect of it all was overwhelming.

At Dilvara and at Amber they found artists, apparently descendants of the old artisans, producing panels to be fitted into the vacant spaces that were to be found on the verandahs of some of the shrines. The work done on these panels seemed to be in every way as good as the work done 600 or 700 years ago. Where renovation work was done, they found it executed very carefully with a view to seeing that the general harmony was not disturbed. Rajasthan might be backward in some respects, but they found 'artistic integrity in the way people live their lives'.

Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar spoke of a great temple he had been shown at Dilvara, one of five, which, he was told, were built by the workers without receiving any payment at all. By all accounts, it was regarded as the best of the five temples. That showed the spirit of those artists who could work for the sake of work only. In conclusion, he pointed out that the living art of Rajasthan was well worth a personal visit on their part.

Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar proposed a vote of thanks.

22—4--54

Oriental Book Classification and an All-India Script

Sri Satish Chandra Guha Thakkura of Banaras, who was bringing out for a time the bibliographical journal called *Indiana*, gave a talk on two of his special subjects—an indigenous method of Book-Classification which suited particularly Indian classics—*Prācya-vargīkaraṇa-paddhati* as he had described it in his contribution on that subject in the Princess of Wales Sarasvati Bhavan Studies, Banaras—and an Universal Script for all India, an adaplation of the Devanagari using elements from all the Indian scripts as they evolved from early ages. Dr. V. Raghavan introduced and Sri K. S. Ramaswami Sastri thanked the lecturer.

1—5—1954

Yoga-yājñavalkya

Sri P. C. Diwanji, Retd. Judge, Bombay, and well-known scholar in Sanskrit and Indian Philosophy, gave a talk on the Sanskrit text "*Yoga-yājñavalkya*". Dr. Raghavan introduced the lecturer.

Sri Diwanji said that he was bringing out a critical edition of the text on the basis of mss., information about which was supplied by Dr. Raghavan. He explained the eclectic nature of this yoga-vedānta text and drew attention to some of the textual problems and peculiarities of its yogic precepts. Sri M. Patanjali Sastri who presided thanked the lecturer.

16—6—1954

Dr. V. Raghavan on his European tour

On 16th June, 1954, a joint meeting of the K. S. R. Institute and the Madras Sanskrit Academy was held under the

chairmanship of the Hon. Mr. T. L. Venkatarama Iyer, Judge, Supreme Court, when Dr. V. Raghavan, who had recently returned from Europe gave an account of the work done by him during his tour of Europe, for nearly a year in 1953-54.

Mr. Venkatarama Iyer referred to the meeting held in May 1953 to give a send-off to Dr. Raghavan and said that Dr. Raghavan had more than fulfilled their expectations and had proved himself to be an ambassador of Indian culture to the West.

Dr. Raghavan said that, with reference to the mission of search for Sanskrit mss. on which he had gone, he had visited thirteen countries in Europe and to the surprise of himself and that of the local scholars found many unsuspected collections of Sanskrit Mss. He said that according to his computation there were in European libraries about 40,000 mss. of which about 20,000 had been described by Orientalists in published catalogues, and another 20,000 remained to be so described, some of which latter were known locally and all of which, of course, were not known at all to the wide scholarly world. The mss. were from different parts of India and in a variety of scripts. Thanks to the facilities given by the respective libraries and his own zeal and concentrated work, Dr. Raghavan said, he succeeded in surveying these little known collections, examining their mss. and preparing an inventory of nearly 20,000 mss. His visits covered Ireland (South and North), Scotland, England, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Italy. He had brought with him also microfilms of some of the rare and valuable mss. found by him. An exhibition of these had also been arranged at the meeting.

As part of his work, the speaker said, he visited almost all the Sanskritists at the different European centres and took stock of the nature and scope of the Sanskrit studies in those countries. He referred to the number of full-fledged Chairs of Sanskrit maintained in the different Western Universities and to his surveys of Sanskrit studies in the various countries that appeared in the *Hindu*. He described the extent of erudition and interest in Sanskrit exhibited by Western scholars and in that connection, read out samples of Sanskrit verses composed by some of the Western Orientalists.

Dr. Raghavan paid a tribute to the high sense of service shown by library authorities in the West and said that there was hardly a library which did not have such equipments as Microfilm Apparatus and Reader.

The lecturer referred to the esteem in which Western Orientalists held the scholarly work of Madras and appealed to the lovers of Indological studies in Madras to help build up a centre in the city where Western Sanskritists desiring to study in Madras could be received and accommodated.

Mr. Justice Venkatarama Iyer expressed to the lecturer their appreciation of the latter's work which he described as being in the ture tradition of Indian scholarship and love of learning. Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer paid a tribute to the work of Dr. Raghavan on the *Catalogus Catalogorum.*

4—7—1954

Archaeological Discoveries relating to Aśvamedha.

Sri T. N. Ramachandran, Jt. Director-General, Arch. Dept., Govt. of India, gave a lecture on the excavations done by him at the foot of the Himalayas which led to the discovery of the performance of an Aśvamedha sacrifice and its bricks etc., which he had described in the Journal of Oriental Research Madras, vol. XXI. pp. 1—31. Sri M. Patanjali Sastri presided. Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer proposed a vote of thanks.

23—7—1954

Sanskrit Literature in Indonesia.

Under the joint auspices of the K. S. R. Institute and Madras Sanskrit Academy, Dr. Raghu Vira, Director of the International Academy of Indian Culture, gave a lecture on Sanskrit literature in Indonesia. There was also an exhibition of the publications of his Academy and a few Balinese mss.

Dr. Raghu Vira said that he was now producing a book in one of the alphabets of Indonesia, the Bali alphabet. Only a few books in old Javanese literature were to-day available. One such book, the *Sārasamuccaya* was said to contain sayings from the Great Epic and had 517 slokas. The introduction to the work stated that it was taken from Mahabharata. Two hundred and seventeen *slokas* therein had been traced to the Mahabharata.

Dr. Raghu Vira explained the problems in editing Sanskrit works preserved in Kavi-versions in Java and

Bali. He was now engaged on this important work in his Academy at Nagpur. He stressed the need to take the direct help of the natives of Bali in this task. Neither printing in Roman script nor translating into Dutch or English, he pointed out, had been found to be adequate. More than any Dutch research scholar or other European scholars, it was the Indian scholar with his knowledge of Sanskrit, its idiom and concepts, who could truly render or edit these works.

Many persons in Indonesia wanted to learn Sanskrit and President Soekarno had asked him (the speaker) when he had been in that country, to stay in Bali or Java for at least two years and teach Sanskrit, but he was not able to do so. A few students had co e to him from Indonesia. He also said that he planned to publish the *Sārasamuccaya* in Balinese script as well as in Sanskrit.

Mr. Patanjali Sastri, after thanking Dr. Raghu Vira for his interesting address said that the story of India's cultural conquest of neighbouring countries must fascinate every Indian. Dr. Raghu Vira had told them only a part of that story that evening. Hearing the lecture, he must own to having felt a certain amount of pride at the thought that centuries ago, our forefathers went east and west and north and south carrying the torch of knowledge and culture to distant lands and established a spiritual empire over vast areas of the world. He hoped that the full story of India's cultural achievements in foreign lands under the leadership of eminent Indologists like the speaker of the evening would be chronicled in the pages of the history of the world.

Dr. Raghu Vira, Mr. Patanjali Sastri said, had defined the role of a research scholar in India. It should be the scholar's aim, according to him, to establish personal contact and understanding sympathy with the peoples of the countries where he carried on research. That was a new role and one quite in keeping with our new lines of thought and feelings towards our neighbours like Burma, Ceylon, Thailand and China.

A set of the Journals and books published by K. S. R. Institute was presented to Dr. Raghu Vira by the chairman on behalf of the Institute.

Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer, proposing a vote of thanks, emphasised the importance of Sanskrit to the research scholar and regretted that attempts should be made in certain quarters to minimise the importance of Sanskrit.

OBITUARY NOTICES

JULES BLOCH (1880-1953)

BY

PROF. LOUIS RENOU

The passing away of Jules Bloch has left in Indological studies in France a void which can hardly be filled.

Trained by Meillet and Sylvain Levi, Bloch had inherited from the former of these two masters, rigour and penetration in the application of linguistic methods, and from the latter a taste for things which are Indian, the need to associate scholarly research with precise details and new visions imprinted upon culture, religion and society. He also owed much to Grierson and Bhandarkar, the pioneers of Indian linguistics.

Very early, Jules Bloch turned his attention to modern languages of India, of course, not without undergoing a heavy and indispensable discipline in Sanskrit. His thesis for the Doctorate was on the *"Formation of the Marathi Language"*; this is the first study, deserving the name, which was devoted to the internal history of one of the great languages of India.

Diving deep into and enlarging on his researches without a stop, Bloch, after a long series of learned articles, collected his views in a single volume, *"The Indo-Aryans"*, with the significant sub-title, *"From the Vedic to modern times"*. Again he did not limit himself to the Indo-Aryan dialects; he applied himself in a similar manner to the Dravidian, and eventually to Munda; one of his last ambitions, which however remained unachieved, related to the language of the Andaman isles. Neither did he neglect Sanskrit, nor Indian customs and manners in their diverse forms. In the domain of Dravidian, one cannot at all forget his *"Structure of the Dravidian Languages,"* a book which presents pointedly Dravidian problems whose study had not been resumed since Caldwell.

Philology was also represented in the purview of his researches; for example the well-prepared and extremely elegant edition of the *Inscriptions of Asoka* which Bloch has given us a few years before his death,

Whatever be the importance of his technical productions, it will hardly suffice to measure the greatness of the man; to have assisted in his studies, to have listened to his conversation or to have received his letters would be enough to understand how great was his intuition, his sensibility, not only with reference to the problems of his special branch of study but also on the human level. He has left the mark of his personality in the teaching he gave at l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes (School of Higher Studies), l'Ecole des Langues Orientales (School for Oriental Languages) and at the College de France where he succeeded in 1935 his teacher Sylvain Levi.

Dr. Saileswar Sen

We are very sorry to have lost one of our Sanskritists, Dr. Saileswar Sen, who was Professor of Philosophy at Annamalai University and then at Andhra University. Dr. Sen was a student of *Navyanyāya* in which difficult field he produced the work '*A Study af Mathurānātha's Tattvacintāmaṇirahasya*'. Dr. Sen was a Life Member of the K. S. R. Institute.

V. R.

R. K. Murti

The unfortunate death of R. K. Murti, Director, T. A. Taylor & Co., Madras, at a premature age removes from our midst an effective worker who had been helpful in all cultural undertakings. Apart from interesting himself in organising and conducting expositions of Valmiki Ramayana and helping various charitable and educational causes, he was, as a Life Member of the K. S. R. Institute, helpful to the Institute in enlisting many other Life Members.

V. R.

S. Ramaswami Sastri

S. Ramaswami Sastri, Life Member of the K. S. R. Institute, who passed away at the age of 73 on 19-2-1954 was a class-mate from early days of Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri. He hailed from Tiruviśanallūr and was the son of the author Vīrarāghava Śāstri of Tiruviśanallūr who wrote a commentary on the Ākhyāṣaṣṭi of Ayyāvāl, two plays, Vallīpariṇaya and Rāmarājyābhiṣeka, and possibly also two Śataka-stotras on

Īśvara and Pārvatī. The late Ramaswami Sastri endeavoured to bring out editions of his father's works, but succeeded in publishing only the Ākhyāṣaṣṭivyākhyā.

V. R.

Mrs. Kshama Rao

It is with great sorrow that we record here the passing away of the talented Sanskrit poetess, Panditā Kshama Rao of Bombay. She died in May this year at Bombay. She was the daughter of the well-known Sanskritist S. P. Pandit and commanded a facile and graceful style of Sanskrit. Her modern education imparted an additional merit to her poetry. Besides poetic pieces on the lives of Mīrā, Tukārām and some other saints, she produced two accounts of Gandhiji called Satyāgrahagītā, and short stories in modern style in Sanskrit verses. It is hoped that her unpublished writings will soon see the light of day.

V. R.

Sri S. Panchapakesa Sastriar

Sri S. Panchapakesa Sastriar who passed away rather prematurely in the latter part of last year was a very good student of Sanskrit and took very deep interest in Sanskrit studies throughout his life. He was a life-member of the K. S. R. Institute. He was one of the eminent Judges of the Madras High Court, though he occupied the Bench only for two or three years. He was a person of sterling integrity and was imbued with the highest traditions of Indian culture. He was conservative in his outlook and was zealous in the preservation of the fundamental characteristics of Hindu tradition and religion.

K. B. Iyer.

THE RELIGION OF THE HINDUS: Edited by Kenneth W. Morgan. The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1953. Rs. 30/-

This book is the outgrowth of a conviction on the part of teachers of the History of Religions in the universities of America that a fundamental need is the publication of books on the various religions by scholars of the individual religions being studied. However, this in itself is not enough. Such books must be written with the American undergraduate in mind. While there will always be a need for scholarly publications of a highly technical and advanced nature, yet scholarship in the field does not appear to have been aware of its obligation to the beginning student and the non-specialist who seeks general understanding and not scholarly attainment. For too long a time the undergraduate has been dependent upon general Histories of Religion which have attempted to deal with all the religions of the world in one or two volumes. Further, these books usually have been written by Christians who, while perhaps high in scholarly attainment, could hardly claim to have reached a degree of empathy with all the non-Christian religions, an empathy which would insure a communication of the ethos and mind-set of the religion as well as the objective facts.

It is recognized, of course, that the *ideal* is not easily obtained, and that no one book, or series of books, can succeed in presenting that understanding of the various and separate histories of mankind's religious experience and expressions which is the hope of every dedicated teacher of the History of Religion. Nevertheless, this is an admirable first step in the proper direction. This book, sponsored in its inception and publication by the National Council on Religion in Higher Education and the Hazen Foundation, is but the first in a hoped-for series of such books written by recognized scholars in the separate religions with an eye to the English speaking non-scholarly reader.

THE RELIGION OF THE HINDUS contains nothing startling new, either in content or in method of presentation. Yet, under the able direction of Professor Kenneth W. Morgan of

Colgate University it achieves its primary aim of presenting what a group of Hindu scholars with varying skills and interests consider essential to an introductory understanding of the wide and varied religious phenomenon known as Hinduism. It is evident that both the editor and the individual writers have endeavoured to keep clearly in mind the audience for which they were writing.

Any criticism of this book by non-Indians should only be made on the basis of whether or not it does succeed in presenting an understandable and reasonably objective picture of Hinduism to the average western undergraduate and lay reader. Of course, the book will not be adequate for anything more than that. Any teacher who is aware of the wide ranges of Hinduism will know of many areas into which he will want his students to read further. And, I am certain, the editor and the writers will be the first to urge the teachers to recommend such reading to interested students. The bibliography given in the book should be helpful in this direction for the non-specialist teacher who finds himself called upon to teach a course which deals with Hinduism.

Those scholars who may perhaps regret that this or that item is either left out or not treated more fully are urged to remember the purpose and aim of the book. In the opinion of this reviewer, if that purpose is kept in mind, all who desire a better understanding of the religions of the world upon the part of all peoples will congratulate the editor, the authors, and the Hazen Foundation.

While a review of this nature and the broad scope of the volume's contents, do not permit a detailed discussion of the separate chapters and their authors' presentations, it should be pointed out that each of the writers were suggested by their fellow Hindu scholars as being *the* men to write on the subjects to which they have devoted themselves. A listing of the scholars and their subjects should be sufficient to indicate the general high quality of the book's contents: D. S. Sarma, "The Nature and History of Hinduism"; J. N. Banerjea, "The Hindu Concept of God"; R. Basak, "The Hindu Concept of the Natural World"; R. N. Dandekar, "The Role of Man in Hinduism"; S. Bhattacharyya, "Religious Practices of the Hindus"; S. C. Chatterjee, "Hindu Religious Thought"; and V. Raghavan, "Introduction to and Select

renderings from Hindu Scriptures." It would be difficult, if not impossible, to present in one book a better cross section of contemporary Indian scholarship in the field of Hindu religion.

Philip H. Ashby
The Department of Religion,
Princeton University, U. S. A.

PROF. M. HIRIYANNA COMMEMORATION VOLUME. Rs. 15-0-0.

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All the four available of Kavyalaya Publishers, Mysore.

The intimate way in which the late Professor Hiriyanna of Mysore had been connected with the late Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri and the activities of the Institute founded here in the name of the latter makes it a matter of special gratification to us in this Institute that to one like Prof. Hiriyanna, who deserved every honour but severely shunned any form of publicity during his life, his friends, admirers, and pupils, direct and indirect, have been able to take steps to do a kind of homage that would, at the same time, be a permanent service to the cause of scholarship itself. The effort that started with the getting up of a Commemoration Volume culminated in an arrangement to issue in a collected form all the papers that the late Professor wrote, the lectures he delivered and the writings that he had left in manuscript. As Prof. Ingalls of Harvard University has truly observed, Prof. Hiriyanna did not write one useless word and no homage to his memory could be more appropriate than the garnering together in one place of all those grains of gold of his.

The Volume of essays in his honour, undertaken during the Professor's life time, is edited by Sri G. Hanumanta Rao and Sri N. Sivarama Sastri and carries the Foreword of Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, who, along with Prof. Wadia, a colleague of Prof. Hiriyanna at Mysore University for a very long time, has paid an excellent tribute to Prof. Hiri-

yanna as a scholar, Sanskritist and philosopher and gentleman. The thirtythree essays are all from his Indian friends and students and cover the branches of study that he was most interested in, Sanskrit and Indian philosophy; a few of the papers are also addressed to other Indological subjects, history, polity, linguistics etc. The biographical sketch of Prof. Hiriyanna and the bibliography of the Professor's writings, both of which are contributed by Sri Sivarama Sastri, are both very useful.

The daughter of the late Professor, and Messrs N. Sivarama Sastri of the Maharaja's College, Mysore, and K. Chidambaram of Kavyalaya Publishers, Mysore, deserve the thanks of all students of Sanskrit and Indian philosophy for the series of handy volumes they have issued, containing classified collections of the papers and lectures of Prof. Hiriyanna.

'*Popular Essays in Indian Philosophy*'—the first of such collections to be issued—carries essays printed originally in different periodicals and forewords and addresses, which, but for such a collection, one would be hard put to trace. Five of these had appeared in the *Aryan Path*, and one, the *Twofold way of Life*, formed his Presidential address to the Philosophy Section of the Mysore Session of the All-India Oriental Conference. Two short essays on Māyā and one on Indian Philosophy are published here for the first time.

The volume '*The Quest After Perfection*', published simultaneously with the previous volume takes its title after the Principal Miller Lectures at the Madras University which the Professor delivered in 1940. The paper 'Philosophy of Values' bears the nucleus of his larger treatment in book form of the same subject, which, it is hoped, will also soon see the light of day.

The third volume '*Art Experience*' is perhaps most useful, as the field of Indian aesthetics cannot be said to be rich in papers or books and of the meagre literature that is available, Prof. Hiriyanna's is of pioneering and pre-eminent value.

The Wesley Press, Mysore, has printed these volumes very neatly indeed,

V. RAGHAVAN

ANCIENT JAINA HYMNS Ed. by Dr. Charlotte Krause. Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain. 1952. Rs. 5.

The Scindia Oriental Institute, Gwalior, is well-known for its Sanskrit Mss. collections. Its Curator, Sri S. L. Katre, has produced several valuable research papers. The Institute has also begun the publication of a Sanskrit Series.

In the present publication of the Institute, Dr. Ch. Krause, the German Jainist, has given us an edition of eight Jain hymns, the last of which is in Apabhraṁśa. Except for this last, the others have been edited from mss. in the Institute. The hymns thus edited are: the Munisuvrata-stavana, the Devakulādinātha-stavana, the Varakāṇa-Pārśvanātha-stavana, the Saṅkheśvara-Pārśvanātha-stavana, the Tīrthamālācaitya-vandana, the Vīrastuti, the Mahāvīra-stuti and the Sīmandhara-stavana. The editor has, under the modest title 'Remarks on the Texts' dealt in extenso with the Jain thought which it is necessary to know for understanding these hymns, as well as the historical and textual matters of these hymns. In the end there are additional notes on further points in the hymns.

V. R.

AYURVEDIYA PADARTHA VIJNANA, By C. G. Kashikar, Poona. The Board of Research in Ayurveda, Bombay, 1953. Rs. 8-0-0.

Both by conception and execution, the Āyurvedīya Padārtha Vijñāna is a work deserving of praise. Herein, Sri Kashikar collects together, with much systematic labour, all the data pertaining to what may be compendiously called the philosophical background of Āyurveda. The science of Indian medicine was developed by ancient writers on the background of the ancient Indian conception of the universe, the categories of reality, the proofs of valid knowledge, the psychology, theories of epistemology and causation etc., propounded in the different darśanas. The early works of Caraka and Suśruta presuppose a comprehension of these. To help the students of Āyurveda, those who undergo courses of study or are engaged in research, Sri Kashikar has brought together here all the relevant material. The work takes the form of a compilation, exposition and citation of authorities. The

tenets and doctrines are drawn from Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya and Sāmkhya as these are most relevant to Āyurvedic treatises. An English translation and Sanskrit and English glossaries form useful additions. At the beginning, a brief account of the historical development of the literature of Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya, Sāmkhya and Āyurveda is given. We commend particularly the medium of Sanskrit employed for the main text as this would make the work useful to students of indigenous medicine all over India. The ideal of simplicity is kept not only in the style of the language but in the devices adopted in respect of *sandhis* in the printing.

V.R.

DNYANESVARI, ENGLISH TRANSLATION, Vol. I. By Sri R. K. Bhagwat, 555/2 Shivajinagar, Poona-5. 1953. Rs. 10/-.

Jñāneśvar (1275-1296 A.D.), one of pioneers among the Marathi saints who brought the teachings of Vedānta and Bhakti to the people in their tongue, is most famous for his Marathi exposition of the Gītā, the Bhāvārthadīpikā, called popularly Jñāneśvarī. The seven hundred couplets of the Gītā are here enlarged into over 9000 of Marathi and the treatment makes the Jñāneśvarī one of the priceless treasures of Marathi. This Marathi classic has no doubt received due attention at the hands of other modern writers, Dr. R. D. Ranade (in his Mysticism in Maharashtra), Manu Subedar (in his Gita as explained by Duryaneshwar Maharaj) etc., but this is the first time that a regular English rendering of the work has been attempted. Sri R. K. Bhagwat, a retired civil servant, who got the inspiration to undertake this task, has succeeded not only in completing his translation but in also getting the necessary agency, the Dnyaneswari English Rendering Publication Association, Poona, to bring out his translation. In the present volume, chs. I-XII are printed and it is hoped the rest will follow soon. The rendering is simple and lucid and will help appreciation of this great work.

V. R.

YAJNA-TATTVA-PRAKASA. By Pandit A. Chinnaswami Sastri. Pp. 132, Plts. VIII. Rs. 4/-.

Vedic sacrifices form the soul of Vedic hymns and the Brāhmaṇas. The book under review deals with Vedic sacri-

fices, rituals, the methods of performances, the priests, their functions, the vessels and utensils required in the performances and lastly the construction and the structural orientation of the Vedic altars and fires. It is a very satisfactory and at the same time exhaustive account of the Vedic ceremonies which are not well known to modern scholars. The author's high scholarship and remarkable knowledge of *Mīmāṃsā*, *Śrauta* literature and the systems of Indian Philosophy have enabled him to come out with an authoritative treatise on the subject. With the aid of this book it has been possible for the reviewer to appreciate and interpret correctly the *Aśvamedha* altars and sites recently excavated at the foot of the Himalayas, on the banks of the river Yamunā at a place called Jagatgrām near Dehra Dun. The author has been able to express an abstruse subject in a language at once simple and forceful. It is a useful reference book on the subject and will serve to create interest in the study and preservation of Vedic tradition.

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN

SAMSKRTA SAHITYA ITIHASA. By Prof. Hamsa Raj Aggarwal, Ludhiana, 1951. 2 parts, pp. 149, 110. Students' edn. Rs. 10/-, Library edn. Rs. 15/-.

Though several works on the history of Sanskrit literature came to be written in the European languages from the time when the West took to the study of Sanskrit, similar works in the provincial languages of India and in the Sanskrit language itself appeared only lately, though the need for such books, especially the latter, was for long keenly felt by students of the Sanskrit schools and colleges. Prof. P. P. S. Sastri and Pandit K. L. V. Sastri started on the work of giving a Sanskrit version of Macdonell's History of Sanskrit Literature and one volume comprising the Vedic section was issued in 1927. A *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* was produced in Sanskrit by the late R. S. Venkatarama Sastri for use in Sanskrit colleges (Madras, 1941). The *Udyāna Patrikā* from Tiruvaiyaru is serially publishing another venture of this nature, the *Saṁskṛtagranthajātam*. The work under review, the *Saṁskṛta-Sāhitya-Itihāsa* of Prof. H. R. Aggarwal, which too is intended to meet the above need is most welcome.

In eleven chapters divided into 87 sections, Prof. Aggarwal has made in this book a succinct survey of the vast

field of Classical Sanskrit literature. Brevity and directness marks the treatment of several controversial points like the authenticity of Bhāsa's plays, the date of Kālidāsa etc. The book opens with an account of the importance of Sanskrit literature, its influence in the West, problems of chronology, relation of Sanskrit and the Prākṛts and modern provincial languages, Sanskrit as a spoken language and characteristics of Classical Sanskrit. The succeeding chapters take us in a sweep through the epics and *Purāṇas*, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Aśvaghoṣa (done in detail), the larger and shorter poems, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya, the historical poems, prose and *Campū* literature, the popular tales and didactic fable, and the drama. The evolution, ramification and spread of the *Pañcatantra* fables have been dealt in detail but with regard to several other works and authors of importance one would wish for some more salient details.

Two short appendices to the work on the history of the spread of the study of Sanskrit in the West and the deciphering of Brāhmi inscriptions are informative. The volumes have been provided with good indices which facilitate easy reference to the contents of the work.

Thanks are due to Prof. Aggarwal for these handy volumes and it is hoped these will be popular among students of Sanskrit schools and colleges for whom it is primarily intended.

While we greatly appreciate the efforts of Prof. Aggarwal, we would like to make certain suggestions which may be considered when a future edition of this book is prepared. Some quaint expressions which smack of English may be naturalised and certain lapses in grammar and printing rectified. It would also facilitate further reference if full details of reference are given whenever source books are cited.

K. V. Sarma

History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western. Vols. I and II. Sponsored by the Ministry of Education, Government of India. Editorial Board under the Chairmanship of Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan. 1952. George Allen and Unwin, London. 65 sh.

It was a happy idea of our Education Ministry to sponsor the publication of a compendious history of philosophy tracing

the growth and dealing with the varieties of human speculation, to discover as Maulana Azad puts it, 'the lost pages of the book of the Universe'. As has been truly observed, 'the first step towards the evolution of One World is the establishment of unity in the world of thought'. The first volume is devoted to an exposition of the several facets of Indian thought serving to emphasise their unity while expounding their variety. The first Part entitled the *Background of Indian Thought* traces the course of Indian Philosophy from what are called 'pre-Vedic elements' through the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Puranas and brings the account to the period of the Schools which are dealt with in Part II of the book. Part III gives an account of scientific thought in Ancient India in the realms of Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Physiology, Biology and other sciences. The volume ends with comparative studies of Chinese and Japanese thought indicating the Indian influences on them. The second volume is devoted to a historical account of European Philosophy from its Persian and Greek origins through Neo-Platonism and scholastic thought down to modern times. The last part of this volume deals with contemporary Western philosophy including the latter-day developments of idealism in Britain, Italy and America, and the new theories of logical positivism and existentialism. In a little over one thousand pages the two volumes provide a compendious survey of the course of human speculation through the ages both in the East and the West. The articles which are all by authors of eminence in their respective fields, drawn exclusively from India and the East, are all copiously documented with references to original sources and are supported by useful bibliographies to guide the interested the reader for further study. As the Editors point out, 'the work may claim to be the first of its kind since it brings together philosophies of different countries and ages, and enables cultivated readers to compare and contrast varied manifestations of the philosophic spirit in humanity'.

Reviewing the publication in a journal of an Institute devoted to research in ancient Indian thought, we wish to draw special attention to chapter XVI of the first volume which deals with *Mathematics in India* by Dr. A. N. Singh of the Lucknow University and Dr. Shukla of the Patna College. Concluding the article on 'Other Sciences' in which he records the remarkable discoveries of ancient India in all

branches of scientific studies and their application in practical life, Dr. B. B. Dey observes: "The spirit of scientific enquiry and a rigorous correlation of cause and effect in explaining the natural phenomena of the Universe was particularly noticeable among the early Indians......concrete ideas on the ultimate structure of matter, the evolution of elements and their combination to form diverse substances of the earth, the classification of compounds, etc., clothed in speculative language peculiar to them, appear to have been put forward *first* (italics ours) by Indians......Many of the contributions of the ancient Indians to the positive sciences were of permanent value and marked a distinct advance on the achievements of other nations." Dr. Dey declares that "it may with perfect justification be stated that the spirit of scientific enquiry and rationalisation prevailing among them in those ancient days was not essentially different from what is found in our times".

In his *Concluding Survey* appended to the second volume, Dr. Radhakrishnan points out that 'it is the task of philosophy not merely to reflect the spirit of the age in which we live, but to lead it forward. Its function is creative, to state the values, to set the goals, to point the direction and to lead to new paths. It must inspire us with the faith to sustain the new world, to produce the men who subordinate national and religious divisions to the ideal of humanity'. The hope of the Editors that 'this work may perhaps lead to a better international understanding and demonstrate the unity of human aspirations which transcend geographical and national limitations' will, we are sure, find a ready echo in the hearts of the readers.

P. SANKARANARAYANAN

Sacrifice in Ṛgveda: (Its nature, influence, origin and growth). By K. R. Potdar, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Ismail Yusuf College, Jogeshwari. Published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1953. Pp. xi, 292. Rs. 15/-

The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan has been rendering yeoman service to the cause of Indian literature, ancient and modern. The book under review by Dr. K. R. Potdar, published by them is a welcome addition to the existing literature on Vedic studies. It is the first elaborate and successful attempt to trace the relation between the hymns of the Ṛgveda and the sacrifices that are referred to in them. From this point of view the chapters

entitled, *"Gods and the sacrifice," "Pre-dominantly sacrificial hymns"* and *"Mystical element in the Ṛgvedic sacrifice"* are extremely interesting.

The author maintains that it is possible to have a clear knowledge of the nature of the sacrifices referred to in the Ṛgveda and ritualistic details connected with them from the Ṛgvedic hymns themselves. According to the author (p. 269), it is only these sacrifices of the Ṛgveda that are elaborated in the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas of the other three Vedas. He is justly of the view that Vedic sacrifices are not of the nature of magic and that they are intended to propitiate the Gods.

The author accepts the assumption that the hymns of the Ṛgveda are of an earlier period than those of the Yajur and Sama Vedas, though it is clear that there are references to Yajus and Saman in the Ṛgveda, as also to Atharvan and Aṅgiras. It is safer, therefore, we think, to consider that the Mantras of all the four Vedas belong to the same period.

Whatever might be the origin and growth of sacrifices, it has to be admitted that in the period of the Ṛgveda, sacrifices had already acquired a settled form as may be seen from the use of such words as *ṛtvik, adhvaryu, hotar, udgātar*, etc. However the author's view that the details connected with the performance of Ṛgvedic sacrifices could be understood solely from the Ṛgveda is open to question. Without a study of the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas of the of the other Vedas, we think, it is not possible to understand these details.

In the chapter called *"The scene of the sacrifice"* the author dwells at great length on altar, *barhis*, etc. *Avabhṛtha* which is a concluding ritual of the Soma sacrifice is not a vessel as stated by the author on page 86. Ṛv. 8-93-23 which has the word *Avabhṛtha* makes no reference to vessels or Soma juice as the author thinks. The word *Iṣṭahotra* means the priests and not the Soma juice. There is no basis for the author's assertion that the Kaṇvas were not on friendly terms with the Pajras. (p. 148). In *Ṛv.* 8-4-17 *Na tasya vemi* (I do not like any other God), the word *tasya* does not mean one of the family *Pajras*; it means 'any other (God).'

In spite of these small errors, the book under review is a remarkable contribution to a branch of Vedic research which is usually neglected.

AGNIHOTRAM RAMANUJA TATACHARIAR

THE RAGHUVAMSA MAHAKAVYA OF KALIDASA WITH COMMENTARY IN TAMIL. By V. S. Venkata Raghavachari. The Little Flower Company, Madras-17. 1952. Price Rs. 12-8-0.

The Raghuvamśa is the most popular mahākāvya. There is a popular saying among the Sanskrit-loving Tamilians that there is no one who has not read "*Sa-rājyam*" (the fourth canto of Raghuvamśa) nor has not messed in a *satra* (resthouse). The best commentators of the work hail from the south; and a metrical version of the poem in Tamil appeared from Jaffna in 1887. The present volume is enriched by a Foreword by Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar and has a Preface, an Introduction setting forth the poetic excellence and ethical ideas of Kālidāsa and a Summary of contents. The text in Devanagari is followed by a word by word rendering in Tamil and substance of the stanza (*tātparya*) in a simple and lucid language. The Tamil commentator has followed mainly the commentary of Mallinātha and has drawn with advantage from other commentaries including the famous *Prakāśikā* of Aruṇagirinātha. We are then treated to a wealth of literary and critical notes on suggestive words and happy similies and quotations and references from other commentaries—all of which make a commentary by themselves.

In the notes on V. 6 the present commentator observes that king's men may carry if they like the one-sixth of the gleanings thrown by the hermits on sandbanks as tax payable to the kings. The hermits of course part with a portion of their gleanings and also their *tapas* (the accumulated spiritual merits) in favour of the king who protects them; but the latter accepts their *tapas* and not the gleanings (*vide* Śākuntala II. 13). The hermits, however, thinking that one sixth of their gleanings is the share of the king, offer them on the ground even as they offer oblations to gods and manes; and no servant of a king would care to take the pittance of hermits to the royal treasury. *Vide* Kauṭalīya—Jayamaṅgalā:

षड्भागम् अनादित्सितमपि राज्ञो देवताया इव अदृष्टार्थं भूमौ निवपन्ति (आरण्यकाः).

The word āsana-bandha-dhīra (II. 13) is taken to mean "firm in his seat" by Mallinātha and "having sat" by the present commentator. It may be explained as "steady in

making postures"; (*cf.* paryanka-bandha). *Paradeśa-pravāha* in the Kauṭalīya quotation (XV. 29) and *para-abhisandhāna* (XVII. 76) should be corrected as *para-deśa-apavāhana* and *para-atisandhāna*, respectively.

The printing and get up are good. An alphabetical index of the verses of the work further enhances the value of the publication. The learned commentator and the enterprising Little Flower Company have rendered a distinct service to the cause of Sanskrit studies and especially to the Tamil-speaking public.

G. HARIHARA SASTRI

SANDHYA-VANDANAM. By Sri Ikshvaku V. K. V. Acharya. The Manu Publication Series 2. "Dinkar", Tambiah Reddi Road, West Mambalam, Madras-17. Price Rs. 2-4-0.

The author is one of a visionary zeal. The first of his publications, which is yet to come out, but of which a foretaste is given here, is his interpretation of Manu as an international democratic code of moral laws The present publication, No. 2 in this Manu Series, is itself an outcome of his Manu studies. The well-known daily act done by *Dvijas* in adoration of the Sun is set forth here in the form in which South Indian Srivaishnavas do it, with text, English translation and introductory and explanatory notes. Sandhya-vandana, the author says, is a six-hourly reflection of all humans on their own actions which is 'the first step towards the attainment of international unity.' The author uses three expressions which are said to be the key-words of his exposition: '*Composite*' which refers to all Ātmans, '*Culture*' which is refinement and is the aim, and '*Touch*', borrowed from jewellery, referring to the degree of refinement reached. The book includes a coloured picture of Sūryanārāyaṇa, the Ādityahṛdaya from the Rāmāyaṇa, the Sūrya hymn from the Mahābhārata, (Araṇya parvan), and then Ch. I of Manu, the Discovery of the World, with translation and introduction.

There are two attempts at least of the author from which we must ask him to desist,—the explanation of the Sūryanārāyaṇa drawing 'under modern Scientifically (with capital S) conceived ideas' and the derivation of all English words from Sanskrit.

V. R.

INDIA AS KNOWN TO PANINI. By Dr. V. S. Agravala, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT. University of Lucknow, pp. 549, xx. With maps and illustrations. Price Rs. 50.

Some of the members of the K. S. R. Institute and the readers of this Journal may still remember vividly the highly informed and fascinating vistas of ancient India of the Pāṇinian times which Dr. V. S. Agravala opened before them when, sometime back, he lectured to us on the subject which forms the title of the present book. "*India as known to Pāṇini*" is a subject of twenty years' study of our gifted author; parts of the material fetched him first the Ph.D. and then the D.Litt. degrees; scholars will welcome the publication of Dr. Agravala's findings which have appeared now in the form of a book beautifully produced and teeming with precious historical and cultural facts. A Sanskritist, archaeologist, numismatist and an ardent lover of culture, the author may well be expected to have brought his varied gifts to fine fruition in these pages.

The first chapter describes the position of Pāṇini, his identity and story, native place, date, etc. The author is correct when he says that the unity of authorship, the authenticity, the antiquity and the repute of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* make it a unique source of history, as secure a basis as epigraph or coin.

The rest of the book presents a detailed study of the data from Pāṇini pertaining to ancient Indian geography, social life, economic conditions, education, learning and literature, religion and polity and administration. In the end some chronological questions are discussed and there are also two appendices comparing *Janapada* to Greek City States and giving a list of geographical names. The main subjects have been analysed into many sub-sections so that no aspect of ancient life has been ignored. Interpretations are generally carefully done, taking together evidences from Buddhistic and Jain literature and Greek references. The treatment shows the full realisation of the importance and comprehensiveness of the theme. The book is a mine of information and will serve as one of the most widely used books of reference.

V. RAGHAVAN

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What is *coṟ-cīr-aṭi?*

429. கட்டுரை வகையா னெண்ணொடு புணர்ந்து
முற்றடி[1] யின்றிக் குறைவுசீர்த் தாகியும்
ஒழியசை யாகியும் வழியசை புணர்த்தும்[2]
சொற்சீர்த் திறுதல் சொற்சீர்க் கியல்பே.

Kaṭṭurai vakaiyā ṉ-eṇṇoṭu puṇarntŭ
Muṟṟaṭi y-iṉṟi-k kuṟaivu-cīrt t-āki-y-um
Oḻi-y-acai y-āki-y-um vaḻi-y-acai puṇarttum
Coṟ-cīr-t-tiṟutal coṟ-cīrk k-iyalp-ē.

The nature of *coṟ-cīr-aṭi* is that it may be in the form of prose, it may consist of one or two feet, it may have the final *cīr* defective by one or two *acais* and it may have an *acai* standing in place of a *cīr* or a word standing in place of a *cīr*.

Note: For the definition of *muṭukiyal-aṭi* see *sūtras* 372 and 373.

430. அங்கதந் தானே யரிறபத் தெரியின்
செம்பொருள் கரந்த தெனவிரு வகைத்தே.

Aṅkatan tāṉ-ē y-ariṟapa-t teriyiṉ
Cemporuḷ karanta t-eṉa-v-iru vakaitt-ē.

Aṅkatam (satirical stanza), if carefully examined, is of two kinds: *Cemporuḷ* and *karantatŭ.*

431. செம்பொருளாயின் வசையெனப் படுமே.

Cem-poru ḷ-āyiṉ vacai-y-eṉa-p paṭum-ē.

Aṅkatam of the kind of *cemporuḷ* is called *vacai.*

432. மொழிகரந்து [3]மொழியி னது பழிகரப் பாகும்.

Moḻi-karantu moḻiyiṉ-atu paḻikarap p-ākum.

If the idea is not directly expressed in *aṅkatam* but is suggested, it is called *paḻi-karappŭ.*

433. செய்யுட் டாமே யிரண்டென மொழிப.

Ceyyuṭ ṭām-ē y-iraṇṭ-eṉa moḻipa.

They say that *ceyyuḷ* (stanza) is of two kinds.

What are they?

434. [4]புகழொடும் பொருளொடும் புணர்ந்தன் றாயின்
செவியுறைச் செய்யு ளென்மனார் புலவர்.

---

1. முந்றடி (இளம்.); முட்டடி (பேரா.)
2. புணர்த்தும் (இளம்.); புணர்க்தும் (பேரா.)
3. மொழியின் (இளம்.); சொல்லின் (பேரா.).
4. புகழொடும் (இளம்.); தகவொடும் (பேரா.).

Pukaloṭum poruḷoṭum puṇarntaṉ ṟ-āyiṉ
Cevi-y-uṟai-c ceyyu ḷ-eṉmaṉār pulavar.

If it deals with the fame or aṟam, poruḷ and iṉpam, it is called *ceviyuṟai-c-ceyyuḷ.*

Note. *Ceyyuḷ* is taken here from the previous *sūtra.*

435. வசையொடு நகையொடும் புணர்ந்தன் றாயின்
அங்கதச் செய்யு ளென்மனார் புலவர்.

Vacaiyoṭu nacaiyoṭum puṇarntaṉ ṟ-āyiṉ
Aṅkata-c ceyyu ḷ-eṉmaṉār pulavar.

Learned men say that the stanza of satire and mockery is called *aṅkatam.*

436. ஒத்தா ழிசைக்கலி கலிவெண் பாட்டே
கொச்சக முறழொடு கலிநால் வகைத்தே.

Ottā ḻicai-k-kali kali-veṇ pāṭṭē
Koccaka m-uṟaḻoṭu kali-nāl vakaitt-ē.

Kali is of four kinds: *ottāḻicai-k-kali, kali-veṇ-pāṭṭu, koccakam and uṟaḻ-kali.*

437. அவற்றுள்
ஒத்தா ழிசைக்கலி யிருவகைத் தாகும்.

Avaṟṟuḷ
Ottā ḻicai-k-kali y-iruvakait t-ākum.

Of them *ottāḻicaikkali* is of two kinds.

What are they?

438. இடைநிலைப் பாட்டே[1] தரவுபோக் கடையென
நடை [2]நவின் றொழுகுமொன் றென மொழிப.

Iṭai-nilai-p pāṭṭ-ē taravu-pōk kaṭai-y-eṉa
Naṭai-naviṉ ṟ-oḻuku m-oṉṟ-eṉa moḻipa.

One of them has the following four limbs: *iṭai-nilai-p-pāṭṭu, taravu, pōkku and aṭai.*

Note 1. Iṭai-nilai-p-pāṭṭu is synonymous with *tāḻ-icai*; *pōkku, vāram, aṭakkiyal* and *curitakam* are all synonymous: *aṭai* is synonymous with *taṉi-c-col.*

Note 2. Though the natural order of the four is *taravu, iṭainilaippāṭṭu, aṭai* and *pōkku*, it is not observed in this *sūtra.* But their natural order is suggested by the following four *sūtras.*

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1. பாட்டே (இளம்.); பாட்டு (பேரா.).
2. நவின்று (இளம்.); பயின்று (பேரா.).

What is *taravu*?

439. தரவே தானு நாலடி யிழிபாய்
ஆறி ரண்டுயர் பேறவும்[1] பெறுமே.
Tarav-ē tāṉ-u nāl-aṭi y-iḻipāy
Āṟi raṇṭ-uyar p-ēṟa-v-um peṟum-ē.

Taravu has four feet for the minimum and twelve feet for the maximum.

440. இடைநிலைப் பாட்டே
தரவகப் பட்ட மரபின வென்ப.
Iṭainilai-p pāṭṭ-ē
Taravakap paṭṭa marapiṉa v-eṉpa.

They say that *tāḻici* has its feet less than *taravu*.

Note. *Iḷampūraṇar* says that *tāḻicai* has only *two* or *three* feet; *Pērāśiriyar* says that its feet may range from *eleven* to *two*.

441. அடைநிலைக் கிளவி தாழிசைப் பின்னர்
நடைநவின் றொழுகு மாங்கென மொழிப.[2]
Aṭai-nilai-k kiḷavi tāḻicai-p piṉṉar
Naṭai-naviṉ ṟ-oḻuku m-āṅk-eṉa moḻipa.

They say that *aṭai-nilai-k-kiḷavi* appears after *tāḻicai*.

442. போக்கியல் வகையே வைப்பெனப் படுமே
தரவியலொத்து மதனகப் படுமே
புரைதீர் றிறுதி நிலையுரைத் தன்றே.
Pōkkiyal vakai-y-ē vaipp-eṉa-p paṭum-ē
Taraviya l-ottu m-ataṉ-akap paṭumē
Purai-tī r-iṟuti nilai-y-urait taṉṟ-ē.

Pōkkü is otherwise called *vaippü* and its feet are the same as in *taravu* or less and it forms the spotless concluding portion of the stanza.

Note: The first line is taken as a separate *sūtra* by *Pērāśiriyar*.

443. எனை யொன்றே
தேவர்ப் பராஅய முன்னிலைக் கண்ணே.
Eṉai y-oṉṟē
Tēvar-p parā aya muṉṉilaik kaṇṇ-ē.

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1. சயர்வும் பிறவும் (இளம்.); உயர்பேறவும் (பேரா.).
2. ஆங்கென்மொழிப் (இளம்.); ஆங்கென் கிளவி (பேரா.).

The other kind of *ottāḻicai-k-kali* is used to extol gods in person.

444. அதுவே
வண்ணக மொருபோ கெனவிரு வகைத்தே.
Atu-v-ē
Vaṇṇaka m-oru-pō k-eṉa-v-iru vakaitt-ē.

It is of two kinds: *Vaṇṇakam* and *orupōkù*.

What is *vaṇṇakam*?

445. வண்ணகந் தானே
தரவே தாழிசை யெண்ணே வாரமென்று
அந்நால் வகையிற் றோன்று மென்ப.
Vaṇṇakan tāṉ-ē
Tarav-ē tāḻicai y-eṇ-ṇ-ē vāram-eṉṟù
A-n-nāl vakaiyiṟ ṟōṉṟu m-eṉpa.

They say that *vaṇṇakam* has the following four limbs—*taravu, tāḻicai, eṇ* and *vāram*.

446. தரவே தானும்
நான்கு மாறு மெட்டு மென்ற
நேரடி பற்றிய நிலைமைத் தாகும்.
Taravē tāṉ-um
Nāṉku m-āṟu m-eṭṭu meṉṟa
Nēr-aṭi paṟṟiya nilaimait t-ākùm.

The *taravu* of *vaṇṇaka-v-ottāḻicai* has four, six or eight feet, each having four *cīrs*.

447. ஒத்தாழன் றாகு மொத்தா ழிசையே
தரவிற் சுருங்கித் தோன்று மென்ப.
Ottu-mūṉ ṟ-āku m-ottā ḻicai-y-ē
Taraviṟ curuṅki-t tōṉṟu m-eṉpa.

They say that *ottāḻicai* will be of lesser length than *taravu* and may consist of three feet of equal length.

448. அடக்கியல் வாரந் தரவோ டொக்கும்.
Aṭakkiyal vāran taravō ṭ-okkum.

The *vāram* otherwise known as *aṭakkiyal* is similar to *taravu*.

449. முதற்றொடை பெருகிச் சுருங்கும னெண்ணே.
Mutaṟṟoṭai peruki-c curuṅkuma ṉ-eṇ-ṇ-ē.

Eṇ is that where the *toṭai* will gradually diminish in length.

450. எண்ணிடை யொழிதல் லேத மின்றே
சின்ன மல்லாக் காலை யான.

Eṉṉiṭai y-oḻita l-ēta m-iṉṟ-ē
Ciṉṉa- m-allā-k kālai yāṉ-a.

There is no harm if the limb *eṉ* is not found in the absence of *taṉi-c-col.*

Note: 1. *Ētam* and *ciṉṉam* are the *tadbhava* of *Skt. hēta* and *chinna.*

Note: 2. The second line of this *sūtra* suggests that *taṉi-c-col* also forms a limb to *vaṇṇakam* in addition to the four mentioned.

Note: 3. *Pērāśiriyar*, on the other hand, takes *eṇṇiṭai* in the sense of *iṭai-y-eṉ* which is, according to him, one of the four *eṉ—mutaṉilai-y-eṉ, iṭai-y-eṉ, kaṭai-y-eṉ* and *ciṟṟeṉ.*

451. ஒருபோ கியற்கையு மிருவகைத் தாகும்.

Orupō k-iyaṟkai-y-u m-iru-vakait t-ākum.

Orupōku also is of two kinds.

Note: Cf. *sūtra* 444.

What are they?

452. கொச்சக வொருபோ கம்போ தரங்கமென்று
ஒப்ப நாடி யுணர்தல் வேண்டும்.

Koccaka v-orupō k-ampō taraṅkam-eṉṟu
Oppa nāṭi y-uṇar tal vēṇṭum.

One should understand that they are *koccaka-v-orupōku* and *ampōtaraṅkam.*

453. தரவின் றாகித் தாழிசை பெற்றும்
தாழிசை யின்றித் தரவுடைத் தாகியும்
எண்ணிடை யிட்டுச் சின்னங் குன்றியும்
அடக்கிய லின்றி யடிநிமிர்ந் தொழுகியும்
யாப்பினும் பொருளினும் வேற்றுமை யுடையது
கொச்சக வொருபோ காகு மென்ப.

Tarav-iṉ ṟāki-t tāḻicai peṟṟum
Tāḻicai y-iṉṟi-t taravuṭai-t t-ākiyum
Eṇ-ṇ-iṭai y-iṭṭu-c ciṉṉaṅ kuṉṟiyum
Aṭakkiya l-iṉṟi y-aṭi-nimirn t-oḻukiyum
Yāppiṉ-um poruḷiṉ-um vēṟṟumai y-uṭaiyatu
Koccaka v-orupō k-āku m-eṉpa.

Koccaka-v-orupōku may have all the limbs deficient in *taravu, tāḻicai, taṉiccol* or *curitakam* and may vary in *yāppu* and *poruḷ.*

454\. ஒருபான் சிறுமை யிரட்டியத னுயர்பே.
Orupāṉ ciṟumai y-iraṭṭiyata ṉ-uyarp-ē.

Its feet vary from ten to twenty.

Note. *Ataṉ aṭi* is taken to be understood.

455\. அம்போ தரங்க மறுபதிற் றடித்தே
செம்பால் வாரஞ் சிறுமைக் கெல்லை.
Ampōta raṅka m-aṟupatiṟ ṟ-aṭittē
Cempāl vārañ ciṟumai-k k-ellai.

Ampōtaraṅkam varies its feet from sixty to thirty.

Note. *Pērāśiriyar* takes *cempāl* and *vāram* to mean thirty and fifteen respectively.

456\. எருத்தே கொச்சக மராகஞ் சிற்றெண்
அடக்கியல் வாரமொ டந்நிலைக் குரித்தே.
Erutt-ē koccaka m-arākañ ciṟṟeṇ
Aṭakkiyal vāramo ṭ-an-nilaik k-uritt-ē

Taravu, koccakam, arākam, ciṟṟeṇ and *aṭakkiyal-vāram* are its limbs.

457\. ஒருபொரு ணுதலிய வெள்ளடி யியலான்
திரிபின்றி முடிவது[1] கலிவெண் பாட்டே.
Oru-poru ṇutaliya veḷḷaṭi y-iyalāṉ
Tiripiṉṟi muṭivatu kali-veṇ pāṭṭ-ē.

Kali-veṇ-pāṭṭu deals with one topic and has all the feet *veḷḷaṭi* (those pertaining to *veṇpā*).

458\. தரவும் போக்கு மிடையிடை[2] மிடைந்தும்
ஐஞ்சீ ரடுக்கியு மாறுமெய் பெற்றும்
வெண்பா வியலான் வெளிப்படத் தோன்றும்
பாநிலை வகையே கொச்சகக் கலியென
நூனவில் புலவர் நுவன்றறைந் தனரே.
Taravum pōkku m-iṭai-y-iṭai miṭaintum
Aiñcī r-aṭukki-y-u m-āṟu-mey peṟṟum
Veṇpā v-iyalāṉ veḷippaṭa-t tōṉṟum
Pā-nilai vakai-y-ē koccaka-k kali-y-eṉa
Nūṉavil pulavar nuvaṉṟ-aṟain tanar-ē.

Scholars of literature have said that *koccaka-k-kali* may have *taravu* and *pōkku* in the middle, may have its feet con-

1. முடிவது (இளம்) ; வருவது (பேரா.).
2. இடையிடை (இளம்) ; பாட்டிடை (பேரா.).

sisting of five *cīrs*, may have six limbs and may have the nature of *veṇpā*.

Note: 1. The six limbs are taken by *Iḷampūraṇar* to be (1) *taravu*, (2) *tāḻicai*, (3) *taṉi-c-col* (4) *curitakam* (5) *coṟ-cīr-aṭi* and (6) *muṭukiyal-aṭi* or *arākam*.

But, *āṟu-mey-peṟṟum* means, according to *Pērāśiriyar*, *iru-cīr-aṭukkū āṟu-cīr-peṟṟum*.

Note: 2. *Pērāśiriyar* takes the first three lines as one *sūtra* and the remaining lines as another. But *Iḷampūraṇar* takes all the five lines as one *sūtra*. *Iḷampūraṇar's* view seems to be sound.

459. கூற்று மாற்றமும் மிடையிடை மிடைந்து
போக்கின் றாக லுறழ்கலிக் கியல்பே.
Kūṟṟu māṟṟam-u m-iṭai-y-iṭai miṭaintū
Pōkk-iṉ ṟ-āka l-uṟaḻkalik k-iyalp-ē.

There is no harm if *uṟaḻ-kali* has within it one's speech and another's reply.

460. ஆசிரியப் பாட்டி னளவிற் கெல்லை
ஆயிர மாகு மிழிபுமூன் றடியே.
Āciriyap pāṭṭi ṉ-aḷaviṟ k-ellai
Āyıra m-āku m-iḻipu-mūṉ ṟ-aṭiy-ē.

The limit of the extent of *āciriyappā* ranges from thousand to three feet.

461. நெடுவெண் பாட்டே [1]முந்நான் கடித்தே
குறுவெண் பாட்டிற் களவேழ் சீரே.[2]
Neṭu-veṇ pāṭṭ-ē mu-n-nāṉ k-aṭi-t-t-ē
Kuṟu-veṇ pāṭṭiṟ k-aḷavēḻ cīr-ē.

Neṭu-veṇpā may have twelve feet and *kuṟu-veṇpā* has seven *cīrs*.

Note: The upper limit of *veṇpā* is twelve feet and the lower limit is two feet one of which has only three *cīrs*.

462. அங்கதப் பாட்டள வவற்றோ[3] டொக்கும்.
Aṅkata-p pāṭṭ-aḷa va-vaṟṟō ṭ-okkum.

1. முந்நான்கு (இளம்.); முந்நால் (பேரா.).
2. பாட்டிற் களவேழ் சீரே (இளம்.); பாட்டி னளவெழு சீரே (பேரா.).
3. அவ்வவற்றொடு (இளம். நச்.); அவற்றளவோடு (பேரா.).

The range of *aṅkatappāṭṭu* is similar to them, *i.e.*, the outer range is twelve feet and the inner range is two feet.

463. கலிவெண் பாட்டே கைக்கிளைச் செய்யுள்
செவியறி வாயுறை புறநிலை யென்றிவை
[1]தொகைநிலை மரபி னடியில வென்ப.
Kali-veṉ pāṭṭ-ē kaikkiḷai-c ceyyuḷ
Cevi-y-aṟi vāyuṟai puṟanilai y-eṉṟivai
Tokai-nilai marapi ṉ-aṭi-y-ila v-eṉpa.

Kali-veṉ-pāṭṭu and stanzas dealing with *kaikkiḷai, cevi-y-aṟi, vāyuṟai,* and *puṟanilai* have no limit in their range, *i.e.*, they may have any number of feet.

464. புறநிலை வாயுறை செவியறி வுறூஉவெனத்
திறநிலை மூன்றுந் திண்ணிதிற் றெரியின்
வெண்பா வியலினு மாசிரிய வியலினும்
பண்புற முடியும் பாவின வென்ப.
Puṟa-nilai vāyuṟai cevi-y-aṟi v-uṟūu-v-eṉa-t
Tiṟa-nilai mūṉṟun tiṇṇitiṟ ṟeriyiṉ
Veṇpā v-iyaliṉu m-āciriya v-iyaliṉum
Paṇp-uṟa muṭiyum pāviṉa v-eṉpa.

Puṟanilai, vāyuṟai and *cevi-y-aṟivuṟūu,* all these three, are, on examination, composed in *maruṭpā* (*āciriyappā* followed by *veṇpā*).

Note: *Puṟanilai* is the poem invoking the tutelary deity of a chief to shower prosperity on his family. *Vāyuṟai* is the poem wherein salutary advice is given. *Cevi-y-aṟṟivuṟūu* is the poem wherein a chief is instructed in the path of virtue.

465. பரிபாடல்லே[2]
நாலீ ரைம்ப துயர்படி யாக
ஐயைந் தாகு மிழிபடிக் கெல்லை.
Paripāṭal-l-ē
Nāl-ī r-aimpa t-uyar-paṭi y-āka
Ai-y-aiṉ t-āku m-iḻi-paṭik k-ellai.

The range of *Paripāṭal* is from twenty-five to four hundred feet.

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1. தொகைநிலை மரபின் (இளம்.); தொகுநிலையளவின் (பேரா.).

2. பரிபாடல்லே (இளம்., நச்.); பரிபாடெல்லை (பேரா.).

आहूय सत्येनानृतेन वा पराजितो भ्रंशितच्छायः क्रुध्यति । **प्रवासोपतप्तः** नित्यविक्षेपात् कलत्रविरहाद्युपतप्तः । **कृत्वा व्ययमलब्धकार्यः** कार्यमिदं मे प्रीतः करिष्यतीति द्रव्योपहारेऽप्यलब्धकार्यः अप्राप्ताभिप्रेतार्थः । **स्वधर्माद् दायाद्याद्वा** इति । पैतृष्वस्रीयोद्वाहादिकात् स्वधर्माद्**वरुद्धो** भ्रंशितः देशान्तरविरुद्धत्वात्, समाश्रयवद्भयो दायादेभ्यो लब्धव्याद्दायाद्यात् पैतृकाद्वरुद्धः । **मानाधिकाराभ्यामिति** । यथोचितान्मानादधिकारकर्मणः **भ्रष्टो** वियोजितः । **तुल्यैस्तत्कुलीनौचित्यैः** प्रतिपक्षैर्वान्तरङ्गैर**न्तर्हितो** बहिरङ्गीकृतः । **प्रसभाभिमृष्टस्त्रीकः** राज्ञो रक्षाशैथिल्यादन्यैः प्रसह्योपभुक्तकलत्रः । **काराभिन्यस्तः** कारो दण्डस्तत्राभिनिवेशेन त्वयेदमाशूपनेयमिति नियुक्तः । **परोक्तेन** परवचनेन अविमृश्य **दण्डितः** । **मिथ्याचारवारितः** । तथाचाहुः—

"हिते कल्यफले नित्यं नानुशिष्यान्नरं बुधः ।
रिपूभवन्ति दुष्प्रज्ञा मिथ्याचारान्निवारिताः ॥"

इति । (इति क्रुद्धवर्गः) ॥

स्वयमुपहतः आत्मदुश्चरितेन उपहतः, राजकार्यविनाशात् स बिभेति । **विप्रकृतोऽभिशस्तः** भीत एवास्ते । **पापकर्माभिख्यातः** चौर्यादिना प्रख्यातः । **तुल्यदोषाणामन्येषां दण्डेनोद्विग्नः** ममापि भविष्यतीति । **पर्यात्तभूमिः** समन्तादात्ता गृहीता राजकीया भूमिर्येन स भीत एवास्ते । **सहसोपचितार्थः** अकस्माद्विना सम्भावनां निधिलाभादिना उद्भूतार्थः शङ्कित एवास्ते । **तत्कुलीनो वाशंसुः** तत्कुलीनः कदाऽहं राजा स्यामिति स्वयं च आशंसनशीलस्सन् नित्याशङ्कित एवा(स्ते) । **प्रद्विष्टो राज्ञा** दोषाद्दौर्भाग्याद्वा राज्ञा द्विष्टः कथमहं वर्त इति । **राजद्वेषी** च स्वयं राजद्वेषणशीलः स्वदोषाद् भीत एवास्ते, अपकारोत्प्रेक्षित्वात् । इति भीतवर्गः ॥

M. 25. **परिक्षीण** इति । परतो युग्याद्यपचयाद् दुर्भिक्षादेश्च कारणात् प्राप्तक्षयो लुभ्यति । **अत्यात्तस्वः** बहु यस्यात्तं गृहीतम् अल्पं शेषं च सोऽल्पया मात्रया पूर्वराशिमाचेतुकामो लुभ्यति, सर्वस्वमाहारितस्तु च्छिन्नतृष्णाबीजो न लुभ्यत्येव । **कदर्यः** आत्मभृत्यपीडया धनाप्तिपरः । मू(ढो रहः? लहरः)पितृपैतामहोपात्तम् अन्यायेन भक्षयति । तादात्त्विको यद्यदुत्पद्यते तत्तद्भक्षयति यः, त्रयोऽप्येते लुब्धाः । **व्यसनी** (भू? द्यू)तादिव्यसनानामर्थसाध्यत्वात् लुभ्यति । **अत्याहितव्यवहारः** स्वविभवादधिकप्रस्तुतधर्मादिव्यवहारोऽत्यन्तं लुभ्यति । इति लुब्धवर्गः ॥

आत्मसम्भावित इति। विद्याभिजनत्यागशौर्यरूपादिव्यपदेशेन आत्मनैव सम्भावितः कोऽन्यो मदधिक इति। **मानकामः** स्वामिन आत्मनो मानमिच्छति। **शत्रुपूजामर्षितः** प्रतिपक्षपूजामसहमानः मानीति गम्यते। **नीचैरुपहितः** हीनैः सह स्थानमानाधिकारनिवेशितो विकृतश्चेन्मानी। **तीक्ष्णस्तेजस्वी,** स हि हुङ्कारमप्यसहमानः स्पष्टमान एव। **साहसिकः** साहसेन चरतीति। तथा सति मानाभ्यधिकः। **भोगेनासन्तुष्टः** मानिनो न भोगेन सन्तुष्टाः। इति मानिवर्गः॥

लोभो मानश्च पुरुषधर्म एभिर्निमित्तैर्व्यज्यते। सर्वत्र वर्गग्रहणं क्रुद्धादि-सम्बन्धिनोऽपि....इति केचिदाहुः। तत्प्रतीकारोपग्रहार्थमित्यन्ये। यथोच्यते—

"क्रोधो दोषस्वभावाभ्यां दोषः स्वस्वामिसम्भवः।
कृत्यः कृत्यतरस्ताभ्यां स्वभावान्नातिकृत्यता॥

भयं दोषस्वभावाभ्यां दोषः स्वस्वामिसम्भवः।
कृत्यः कृत्यतरस्ताभ्यां स्वभावान्नातिकृत्यता॥

लोभः क्षयस्वभावाभ्यां दैवः स्वस्वामिसंभवः।
क्षयोऽन्यः स्वज इत्यस्य शेषेभ्यो नातिकृत्यता॥

मानः स्वामिस्वभावाभ्यां सोऽस्थाने स्वामिना कृतः।
चालितस्तदवस्थश्च कृत्यं नयति कृत्यताम्॥"

इति। मिथ्याचारवारिते कामहर्षावन्तर्भूतौ। मदोऽप्यात्मसम्भावित इति॥

T. 69. तेषु परस्थेषु स्वीकरणार्थमुपजापविधिमाह—तेषामिति। क्रुद्धादीनां मध्ये। यः **कृत्यपक्षीयः** कृत्यपक्षभवः। पक्षग्रहणं तत्सम्बन्धस्याप्युप-सङ्ग्रहणार्थम्। **यद्भक्तिः** यो यत्र मुण्डे जटिले वा भक्तिरस्येति। तं **तेनोपजापयेत्**। तस्य श्रद्धेयत्वात्॥

यथेत्युदाहरणमाह—**यथा मदान्धोविवेकासमर्थः हस्तीत्युपकार**-समर्थोदाहरणम्। **मत्तेन** तादृशेनैव **आधोरणेन** अधिष्ठितत्वादुपोद्धलित-चापलः **यद्यदासादयति** प्राप्नोति तत्तत्सर्वं **मृद्नाति** नाशयति। **एवमयम्**। अविद्यमानं शास्त्रं चक्षुरिव यस्य। अथवा अविद्यमानं शास्त्रं चक्षुःस्थानीयश्चामात्यो यस्य सः। पौराणां जानपदानां दोषच्छलेन वधे योजितः परिक्लेशेऽर्थहरणे च। **शक्यमस्य प्रतिहस्तिप्रोत्साहनेन** (अपकर्तुम्)

प्रतिहस्तिनमिमं शास्त्रचक्षुषमेनं राजानम् उपजापेन प्रोत्साह्यापकर्तुम् । अमर्षः क्रियताम् तन्मात्रप्रतिबन्धत्वात् प्रतिकारस्य । इति क्रुद्धवर्गमुपजापयेत् दृष्टान्तदार्ष्टान्तिकयोरनुरूपत्वात् ॥

यथा बिले वसन् सर्पो लक्षणं नापराधकालं यस्माद्भयं सहसोपस्थितं पश्यति उत्प्रेक्षते तत्र विषमुत्सृजति आत्मनेत्थं विषोत्सर्गोपकारेण तं प्रथममवसादयति । एवमयं राजा आविष्कृतापकारलिङ्गः सता असता वा दोषेण जाताशङ्कः त्वयि पुरा नचिरात् क्रोधं विषमिवान्तर्हितमतर्कितमुत्सृजति । अतस्त्वयान्यत्र तन्मित्रेभ्योऽप्यन्यत्र राज्ञि गम्यतामिति भीतवर्गमुपजापयेत् ॥

यथा श्वगणिनामिति । श्वगणो विद्यते येषां ते श्वगणिनः तेषाम् । साधारणक्षीरापि धेनुः सम्परिग्रहदौरात्म्यात् श्वभ्य एव दुह्यते नैव कदाचिद् ब्राह्मणेभ्यः, एवमयं राजा श्वगणधेनुप्रकारः सत्त्वप्रज्ञाशक्तिवाक्यहीनेभ्यो दुह्यते, नात्मगुणसम्पन्नेभ्यो भवद्भ्यः ब्राह्मणकल्पेभ्यः । असौ राजा पुरुषविशेषज्ञत्वात् सेव्यतामिति लुब्धवर्गमुपजापयेत् ॥

T. 70. यथा चण्डालोदपान इति । चण्डालानां कूपश्चण्डालसम्पर्कादपवित्रीकृतस्तेषामेवोपभोग्यो नान्येषां गर्हितत्वात् । एवमयं राजा न साधुप्रकृतिः नीचानामेवानार्याणां भोग्यः न त्वद्विधानामार्याणाम् अभिजनादियुक्तानाम् । असौ राजा पुरुषविशेषज्ञतयानुमीयमानाभिजनः, स त्वया सेव्यताम् । सेव्यत्वादभिगम्यत्वाच्च सेव्यः स एव त्वां यथार्हदानमानाभ्यामाराधयिष्यति इति मानिवर्गमुपजापयेत् ॥

M. 26. उपजप्तेषु स्वीकरणार्थं विधिमाह—तथेति । सर्वप्रकारप्रतिपत्त्यर्थं तथाग्रहणम् । प्रतिपन्नान् गृहीतोपजापान् । संहितान् कृतसन्धीन् । पणकर्मणेति । त्वयेदं कार्यं मयेदं कार्यमिति व्यवहारः पणः । तेन कर्मणा । पणार्थं वा कर्म शपथस्तेन । अव्यभिचारार्थं योजयेत । यथाशक्तीति । यो यत्र शक्तस्तेषु समाहर्त्रादिषु कर्मसु तान् योजयेत् । तत्रापि सापसर्पान् अभिप्रायज्ञानार्थम् ॥

लभेतेति । सामदानाभ्यां वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणाभ्याम् । परभूमिषु परभूमौ वर्तमानान् । लभेत प्राप्नुयात् । अकृत्यान् भेददण्डाभ्याम् । ननु च भेदेन

लभेतेति युक्तम् । को हि पूर्तैः परस्मान्न भिद्यते । दण्डेन तु कथं लभ्यन्ते, उपांशुदण्डेन परापदेशेन अस्मत्स्वामिकृतोऽयमित्युद्वेजिता लभ्यन्ते । **परदोषांश्चेति** परस्य शत्रोर्दोषांश्च सर्वेभ्यः प्रकाशयेत् । येन तद्दोषभिन्नमनसो लभ्यन्त इति ॥

इति परविषये कृत्याकृत्योपग्रहो दशमं प्रकरणम् ।
चतुर्दशश्चाध्यायः ॥

अथ पञ्चदशोऽध्यायः

T. 71. शास्त्रकार एव सम्बन्धमाह—**कृत** इति । अकृतस्वपक्षपरपक्षस्वीकारस्य कार्यारम्भांश्चिन्तयितुमशक्यत्वात्, तत्रापि स्वपरपक्षाश्रयाणां कार्याणां शक्तिदेशकालानुपातिनां मन्त्रनिश्चयपूर्वकत्वात् तन्निश्चयार्थं मन्त्राधिकार उच्यते यदाह—**मन्त्रपूर्वाः सर्वारम्भा** इति ।

यत्र मन्त्रश्चर्यते तमेवोद्देशमाह—**तस्योद्देश** इति । तद्देशः **संवृत** इति । संवृतोऽल्पावकाशः, बहुपरिहारार्थम् । **कथानामविस्रावीति** अगम्भीरत्वात् प्रतिशब्दविवर्जितः । **पक्षिभिरपी**त्यतिशयार्थः । तैरप्य**नालोक्यः** स्यादित्यर्थः । जालकाद्यावरणाभावात् दूरीकृतमेव शब्दश्रवणम् । **श्रूयते हि**—मैथिलेषु किल सर्वसेनः कुमारो नागरिककलहंसकेन मातुलसोमिलेन च पितरं देवसेनं व्यापादयितुमुत्साह्यमान इति अधिकच्छत्रधारपुत्रेण कर्मान्तनियुक्तेनावेदितम् । मन्त्रकाले ततो राज्ञा मन्त्रिपुरोहिताभ्यां प्रधार्योक्तं कलहंससोमिलो वध्यतामिति । तद्वचनमावृत्तिमदुपश्रुत्य शुकेनोपवनदीर्घिकाहंसकीर्तनानन्तरं हंससोमिलौ वध्येतामिति सहसासकृच्च श्रुत्वा जातशङ्कया देव्या सुलोचनया तथा सन्दिष्टः कुमारः सह ताभ्यामेव सरात्रावपसृत्याङ्गराजाश्रयान्मृते पितरि भ्रातॄनुच्छिद्य मगधानवाप्य शुकानां भयमादिदेश(?) । तथा मिलित्वा वणिकर्मनामा बलभद्रस्य विनयप्रभा भार्या प्रतिवेश्यवलयप्रकारधूर्तिसङ्गता प्रतिनिशं निर्गमनकाले तं सन्दिदेश । उदकभ्रमेण गम्यतामिति । सोऽभिश्लाघमानो धूर्तिर्वा खल्वहमित्युक्तवान् तदुभयमपि वचनमाकर्ण्यावृत्तिमदुपश्रुत्य शारिका शरीरभ्रमो मे जात इति वणिजा व्याहृते भ्रमालापानुसन्धानात् भ्रमेण गम्यतां धूर्तिलः खल्वहमित्यसकृद् व्याजहार । उत्प्रेक्षितया शङ्कमानस्तत्स्नायुश्चासौ स्नायुमापाशैर्भ्रममार्गनिहितैर्बुद्ध्वा तं भार्यां च कशाभिस्ताडितवान् इति (?) । ततः प्रभृति मन्त्रोद्देशात् शुकशारिकाश्चापनीयन्ते । (स ततोऽनुचितसमुचितदर्शनः ? श्वभिरिति ।

शुनकेऽनुचितसमुचितदर्शने) समक्षं पुच्छलालनधुक्षणेनाशङ्कितार्थसूचनान्मन्त्रो भिन्नः । एतद्व्यतिरेकेणान्यैरपि तिर्यग्योनिभिरित्यन्येतिहासकथासु श्रूयते । तस्मान्मन्त्रेऽयुक्तोऽनधिकृतः । नोपगच्छेत् समीपमपि न गच्छेदित्यर्थः । यश्च मन्त्रं भिन्द्यात् तस्य दण्डमाह—उच्छिद्येत मन्त्रभेदी । राज्ञा वध्येत । मन्त्रभेदिनश्च छेदाच्छ्रोतुरुपलब्धुर्वानुरूपमाह—मन्त्रभेदी राजा मन्त्रभेदोऽस्यास्तीति सोऽरिभिरुच्छिद्येत । तदुक्तम्—"मन्त्रभेदो ह्ययोगक्षेमकरो राज्ञः" इति । वक्ष्यमाणेन सिद्धत्वात् ॥

मन्त्रस्य भेदहेतुमाह—मन्त्रभेद इति । दूतस्वामिनां दूतस्य मन्त्रिणः स्वामिनो राज्ञः इङ्गिताकाराभ्यां मन्त्रभेदो भवति । इङ्गितं यथावृत्तानुरूपक्रियाविष्करणम् । सा ह्यतथोचिता वृत्तिः । आकृतिग्रहणम् (अकृतिः?) आकारः । भ्रुकुटिमुखरागादिभिराक्रियतेऽनेन भाव इति आकारः ॥

T. 72. तस्येति इङ्गिताकारस्य । संवरणं निगूहनं कार्यमिति शेषः । आयुक्तपुरुषाः कर्मसचिवाः । तेषु मन्त्रकरणमन्याख्यातम् आयुक्तपुरुषाणां वाञ्छाकरणं (?) मन्त्रानिस्रावार्थम् । आ कार्यकालादिति समाप्तिकालं यावदिति । किमिति ते रक्ष्यन्त इत्यत्राह—तेषां हीति । तेषामायुक्तानामनतिधैर्यान्तरासङ्गः प्रमादः यश्च सुरा(स्मृत ?मद)संवरणत्वादन्तर्गतार्थप्रकाशनः प्रलापः । M. 27. कामादिररिषड्वर्गः । स एवोत्सिच्यते अतिरिच्यत इत्युत्सेकोऽधिक इत्यर्थः । तत्र स्त्र्यादिषु विश्वासाद् द्वेष्ये क्रोधात् । परोपजापलक्षणः प्रच्छन्नः कुड्यादितिरस्कृतः । अवमतो वा मूकादिच्छद्मा किमनेन अयं न शृणोतीत्युपेक्षितः ॥

प्रत्येकं मन्त्रयुक्तानां पुरुषाणां राजानुवृत्त्या अयोगक्षेमकरः तस्मान्मा भूद् भेद इति । गुह्यमप्रकाश्यमेको मन्त्रयेत चिन्तयेत् । प्रकाश्यं तु मन्त्रिभिरिति भरद्वाजो मन्यते । शास्त्रश्रवणकालमेव विशिष्टरूपदेशादाहितबुद्धिशक्तित्वात् । अन्यथा मन्त्रिणामपि मन्त्रिणो भवन्ति । यद्यप्ययमात्मसमाय एकस्मै शपथं नियम्याचक्षीत, सोऽपि तथैवान्यस्मै, सोऽप्यन्यस्मै, तथैषां मन्त्रिपरम्परा मन्त्रं भिनत्ति ॥

तस्मादेकस्य मन्त्रयमाणस्यास्य गुह्यम् । परे मन्त्रिणो न विद्युः । कर्म किञ्चिल्लध्वपि । चिकीर्षितं कर्तुमिष्टम् । किञ्चायुक्तपुरुषरक्षणेन क्रमेणारब्धारः आरम्भकाः जानीयुः । आरब्धं कुर्वन्त एव कृतमेव वा निष्पन्नं जानीयुः । इदमनेन चिन्तितमस्माभिर्निष्पादितमिति ॥

T. 73. **नैकस्य मन्त्रसिद्धिरस्तीति विशालाक्षः** । एवं हि मन्यते....गुरुभिरभिविनीतसहजनिर्मलप्रज्ञस्यापि विज्ञातव्यानामर्थानामानन्त्यात्, ...*तिगृहीतौ वा तत्र न (?) T. 74. M. 28. **द्वाभ्यां संहताभ्यामवगृह्यते** वशीक्रियते मा भूद्राज्यापहरणदोषः । **विगृहीताभ्यां तु** परस्परसङ्घर्षेणैवानास्साद्यमानार्थनिश्चयो **विनाश्यते** । (यथा) छान्दसवरश्छात्राभ्यामगृहीताभ्यामध्यापकः । तथा चाहुः—

" इतरेतरविद्विष्टमन्त्रिबुद्ध्यनुगो नृपः ।
विकलीभवति क्षिप्रमवरोऽध्यापको यथा" ॥

इति । ननु च त्रिचतुर्ष्वप्यतिप्रसङ्ग इत्याह—**तत् त्रिष्विति** । सत्यमेतत् । अगत्या त्वेवमाश्रीयते । त्रिभिश्चतुर्भिर्वा मन्त्रयेत इति । यतो बहूनां संहतत्वं कृच्छ्रेण कदाचिदेव भवति, विगृहीतत्वं तु स्यात् । तत्राप्यन्यथा पक्षपातबाहुल्यं राजानुगामित्वम् औदासीन्यं वा कस्यचित् स्यात् । एतत्सर्वं राज्ञा अशक्यादिपक्षतयोच्यते । तथा चाहुः—

" बहुभिर्मतिमद्भिश्च पण्डितो न विगृह्यते ।
संहतैरवगृह्णाति विद्वानेकोऽपि संहतान् ॥"

इति । **महादोषस्तदुपपन्नं भवतीति** । मन्त्रानुपलब्धिप्रकाशस्तु महान् दोषः । महादोषः अयोगक्षेमलक्षणो यस्य तदुपपन्नं प्रतिविहितं भवतीति । चतु(रे? र्भि) र्निश्चयात् ततोऽन्येषाम् अनाख्यानात् । अथवा, एकद्वित्वम् अवग्राहित्वविनाशित्वाभ्यां महादोषः । सम्प्रति तदभावेन कार्यं भवतीति । **ततः परेष्विति** । अधिकेषु विप्रकीर्णालापत्वात् कृच्छ्रेण कदाचिदेवार्थनिश्चयो गम्यते बाहुल्याच्च मन्त्रः कृच्छ्रेण कदाचिदेव रक्ष्यते ॥

T. 75. इदं तु युक्ततरमित्याह—**देशकालकार्यवशेनेति** । यस्मिन् देशे काले कार्ये वा सन्निहितः कुशलो वेति परिच्छिद्य । **एकेन सह द्वाभ्यां वा स्वयमेको वा यथासामर्थ्यमिति** । यथाशक्ति **मन्त्रयेत** । मन्त्रिप्रज्ञामुपजीवन् तद्दोषैर्नोपहन्यते । तथा चाहुः—

" दोषवन्तोऽप्यदोषत्वं विदुषो यान्ति मन्त्रिणः ।
सदोषैरपि दीप्ताग्निराहारैरुपचीयते ॥"

इति । मन्त्रश्च परिपूर्णाङ्गः कार्य इति दर्शयन्नाह—**कर्मणामिति** । कुसन्ध्यादिकर्मणामारम्भप्रत्यवायः परकीयमन्त्राद्विवसः ग्रहः (?) यथोच्यते—

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* अत्र कियानपि ग्रन्थभागस्त्रुटितः ।

" मित्र एव मेऽहं संयुक्तो मन्त्र्यादिगणसङ्ग्रहम् ।
परस्य प्रथमं कुर्यात् प्रयोक्तुं सन्धिसंश्रयौ ॥
तत्कुलीनावरुद्धादिदूष्यगणसङ्ग्रहम् ।
प्रथमं परस्य कुर्यात् प्रयोक्तुं यानविग्रहौ ॥
प्रयोक्तुं वा गुणान् सर्वान् परस्यैतद्गुणद्वयम् ।
पूर्वमेवोपगृह्णीयात् सौकर्यं जायते तथा ॥ इति ॥ (?)

दुर्गादीनामारम्भोपायो नौशकटकुठाराद्युपादानं मनुष्यहरणश्च । **पुरुषद्रव्यसम्पदिति** । सन्ध्यादौ पादार्धगुणहीनादिः पुरुषसम्पत् । दुर्गादौ मुख्यानां सत्त्वप्रज्ञादियोगः पुरुषसम्पत् । सन्ध्यादौ........रकुरो हस्त्यादिः द्रव्यसम्पत् । दुर्गादौ इष्टकापाषाणसारदार्वादिः द्रव्यसम्पत् । **देशकालविभाग इति** । सन्ध्यादौ "मूलवर्जं प्रणामनम्" (अधि. ७. अध्या. ३.) इति देशविभागः । "विशिष्टबलं भङ्क्त्वा सन्धिं याचेत" (अधि. १०. अध्या.३) । "मार्गशीर्षीं यात्रां यायाद्" (अधि. ९. अध्या. १.) इति कालविभागः । दुर्गादौ जनपदान्ते जनपदमध्ये चेति देशविभागः । वर्षासु दुर्गकर्म (शिरसि सेतुः ?) शरदि सेतुकर्मेति कालविभागः । **विनिपातप्रतीकार इति** । सन्ध्यादौ दुर्गादौ च क्रियमाणे यदुपघातः स्यात् तत्रायं प्रतीकारः । तत्र पूर्वस्मिन् प्रियहितानुवर्तनमितरत्र देशकालकार्यावस्थापनादिः । **कार्यसिद्धिरिति** । एवं षड्भिर्गुणैरेतैः पर्येषेत क्षयात् स्थानं स्थानाद् वृद्धिरिति । विषयान्ते दुर्गमविषह्यमाश्रितः परकर्माण्युपहनिष्यामीति जनपदमध्ये समुदायस्थापनं भवतीत्यादि । **पञ्चाङ्ग इति** पञ्चावयव इत्यर्थः । यथोक्तमन्त्रपृच्छायाः क्रममाह—**तानिति** । अमात्यांस्त्रींश्चतुरो वा सन्निधाप्य **एकैकशः** प्रत्येकं **पृच्छेत्** । बोधज्ञानार्थं पूजार्थं कार्यादरार्थञ्च । **समस्तांश्च** विवादसंवादाभ्यां तत्त्वाभिनिवेशार्थमुत्तरकालार्थञ्च । **हेतुभिः** उपपत्तिभिः । **मतिप्रवेकान्** बुद्धिप्रकर्षान्वितान् । सहसैवानुतिष्ठेत् । यथाहुः—

"आदायादायमन्त्रि............त्थ भाषितुम् ।
यद्यदस्मद्धितं कृष्ण तत्तद्वाच्यः सुयोधनः ॥" इति । *

(इति मन्त्राधिकारः एकादशं प्रकरणम् ।
पञ्चदशश्चाध्यायः ॥)

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* इतः परमनन्तराध्यायोपक्रमावधिर्ग्रन्थभागो मातृकायां लुप्तः ।

अथ षोडशोऽध्यायः

T. 78. M 30. **पादगुणहीनः परिमितार्थः** । परिमितोऽर्थो यस्मिन्निति । यथा जानासि (यथा?) सन्धिं विग्रहं वा कारयेति पराधीनार्थः स्वाधीनवचनः । **अर्धगुणहीनः शासनहरः** । यथादिष्टवचनहरत्वाल्लेखहर इत्यर्थः । "हरतेरनुद्यमनेऽच् (३. २. ९.) इत्यच् । यद्यपि सर्वत्र लेखोऽपि स्यात्, तथाऽप्यर्थप्रधानगुणभावविवक्षयैवमुच्यते ।

दूतस्य प्रधानविधिमाह— **सुप्रतिविहितेति** । सुप्रतिविहितानि सुकल्पितानि यानादीनि अध्वनि विघ्नप्रतिषेधार्थं गौरवार्थञ्च यस्य यत्र । **यानं** रथयुग्यादि । **वाहनं** हस्त्यश्वादि । **पुरुषाः** परिचारकाः । **परिच्छेदाः** पटकुटीमण्डपशय्यादिः । **प्रतिष्ठेत** गच्छेत् । गच्छतो विधिमाह—**शासनम्** आज्ञामिति स्वप्रसिद्धयोच्यते । परं प्रति तु निसृष्टार्थस्य प्रज्ञापनाज्ञापनाविज्ञापनार्थोक्तिः? स्यात् । परिमितार्थाच्छासनहरस्य वचनैर्वा । **एवं वाच्यः** उत्तरकाले ; **परोऽन्यः** शत्रुर्मित्रम् उदासीनो वा। **वक्ष्यत्येवम्** अस्मत्प्रतिकूलमनुकूलं वा स्वार्थापेक्षया, **तस्येदं प्रतिवाक्यं** प्रतिकूलानुकूलापेक्षया । एवञ्च मया **प्रतिसन्धातव्यं** प्रतिसन्धानं कार्यम् । **अधीयानः** अविस्मरणार्थम् । गच्छेत् । **गच्छंश्च, अटवीति** । तात्स्थ्याद् उभयजनपदान्तरालवासिभिराटविकैः । **अन्तपालैः** उभयान्तदुर्गाधिकृतैः । **पुरमुख्यैः** उभयस्थानीयाधिकृतैः । **राष्ट्रमुख्यैर्जनपदमुख्यैः** । प्रत्येकं **संसर्गं** संश्लेषं **गच्छेत्** । आत्मीयैः परोपस्थापनार्थं परकीयैरनिष्टोपगमनप्रतिविधानार्थमुपजापार्थञ्च । **एवमनीकस्थानभूमिः** स्कन्धावारभूमिः । पत्त्यश्वरथहस्तियुद्धभूमिः । युद्धकाले च **राज्ञः** (प्रति ?परि)ग्रहभूमिः कलत्रस्थानार्था । (उपचा ? अपसा)रभूमिरपसरणभूमिः । **आत्मनः परस्याचावेक्षेत** । तथा **दुर्गप्रमाणं** सङ्ख्यासंस्कारविस्तारैस्तदनुरूपबलोपादानार्थम् । **उपलभेत** । **राष्ट्रप्रमाणं** कियता बलेनाधिष्ठीयते विमुच्यते वेति (शयोरेष ?)**सारं** भोगम् । **वृत्तिं** जीविकाम् । **गुप्तिं** रक्षस्थानम् । **छिद्रं** व्यसनमिति । **पराधिष्ठानं** परस्य **स्थानं तेनैवानुज्ञातः प्रविशेत्** । आत्माशङ्कानिवृत्त्यर्थम् । T. 79. **शासनं** स्वामिसन्देशं **ब्रूयात्** । अनुज्ञात इति वर्तते । तत्रापि **यथोक्तं** यथासन्दिष्टम् । न तत्रोपग्रहाद् भयाद्वा अन्यथा ब्रूयादित्याह— **प्राणाबाधेऽपि** मरणेऽपि **दृष्टे** । अपिशब्दात् किमुत तद्विभीषिकोपग्रहयोरिति । सन्देशमाचिख्यासुराख्याय वा । **परस्य वाचि** वचने । **प्रसादम्** ।

असंरम्भिनिष्पीडिताक्षरत्वं (अ)द्रुतविलम्बितत्वं यथाप्रसिद्धालापत्वञ्च । **वक्त्रे** वैवर्ण्यभ्रुकुटिस्वेदादिरहितत्वं विकासत्वञ्च । **दृष्ट्याम्** ऊर्ध्वाधस्तिर्यक्प्रसारित्व-मुत्फुल्लतां च प्रसादं लक्षयेत् । **वाक्यपूजनं** साध्वभिहितमिति । इष्टस्याभि-प्रेतस्याप्रकृतस्याप्यर्थस्य **परिप्रश्नम्** । **गुणकथासङ्गं** तदीयगुणकथाभिः संसर्गम् । **आसन्नमासनम्** असन्नदेशोपवेशनम् । **सत्कारं** वस्त्रताम्बूलादिभिः । इष्टेषूत्सवादिषु **स्मरणम्** । **विश्वासगमनं** रहस्योपायेन दर्शनम् । **एतत्तुष्टस्य लक्षयेल्लिङ्गम्** । **विपरीतं लिङ्गमतुष्टस्य लक्षयेत्** । सामर्थ्यसिद्धमप्येत-दतिशयज्ञानार्थम् । **अतुष्टं रुषितं ब्रूयात्** । रोषान्निग्रहीतुकामश्चेदिति वक्ष्यमाणं गम्यते । किं ब्रूयादित्याह—**दूतमुखा हीति** । सन्देशप्रापणाद् दूत एव मुखं येषामिति । न केवलमस्मद्राजा त्वञ्च दूतमुखः, अन्ये च भूतभ-विष्यद्वर्तमाना इति प्रसिद्धम । **तस्मादुद्यतेष्वपि शस्त्रेषु यथोक्तं वक्तारः** वक्तुमेवंधर्माणो दूताः तृनोरूनोरूपभ् (?) । **तेषां** दूतानाम् । **अन्ते-वासिनो**ऽन्तिकचराः परिचरा अवधार्हाः । किमिति प्रश्ने । अङ्गेत्यध्येषणायाम्, त्वमेव अधीष्व पृच्छामः येषां परिचारका अप्यदोषत्वादवध्याः **कथं ते ब्राह्मणा वध्या इति** । ब्राह्मणग्रहणं पुराकल्पापेक्षं प्रायोवृत्त्यपेक्षं वा । अन्तावसायिन इति पाठान्तरम् । तत्र तेषां ये चण्डाला भृत्यास्तेऽप्यवध्या इति । **परस्य चैतद्वाक्यं** स्वामिनो न मम । **एष दूतधर्मः** यत् परुषमपि सन्दिष्टमुच्यत इति ।

वसेदविसृष्टः न तु विसृष्टः कार्यशेषापेक्षया शङ्कनीयत्वात् । **पूजया नोत्सिक्तः** अहमनेन पूजित इति नोत्सिक्तचित्तः स्यात् । उत्सेको हि मन्त्रभेदकारणम् । **परेषु बलित्वमात्मनो न मन्येत** परं परिभवंस्तैरेवं परिभूयेत । M. 31. **वाक्यमनिष्टम**धिक्षेपादिकं **परेषां सहेत** मानोत्सेकप्रतिषेधार्थम् । **स्त्रियो** वेश्यादिका **वर्जयेत्**, मन्त्रभेदावज्ञाननिवृत्त्यर्थम् । **पानञ्च** भावज्ञानपरिभव-परिहारार्थम् । **एकः शयीत** । पार्श्वस्थितैः स्वप्नायमानस्य भावो ज्ञायेत । यदाह — **सुप्तमत्तयोर्हि भावज्ञानं दृष्टमिति** । T. 80. **अविसृष्टश्च कृत्यपक्षोपजापं** पूर्वकृतं तथा **अकृत्यपक्षे गूढपुरुषप्रणिधानं रागापरागौ च तद्भर्तरि** स्वभर्तरि वोपात्तं **रन्ध्रञ्च** व्यसनं **प्रकृतीनाममात्यानां तापसवैदेहक-व्यञ्जनाभ्यामुपलभेत** । तयोर्नगरसमीपवर्तित्वात् । तापसवैदेहकव्यञ्जनयो-**रन्तेवासिभिः** परिचारकैः । **चिकित्सकपाषण्डकव्यञ्जनैरुभयञ्चेतनैर्वा** यथोक्तै-**रुपलभेत** । **तेषामसंभाषायामिति** । परस्परसम्भाषणासम्भवे । कृतकयाचकादि-प्रलापैः व्याधितोऽहमौषधेन मामनुगृह्णाणेति । एवं **मत्तोन्मत्तसुप्तप्रलापेषु** योग्यम् ।

तदसम्भवे पुण्यस्थानानि सत्रप्रपादीनि तेषु । देवगृहेषु विचित्रसंज्ञाभिः पूर्वसङ्केतिताभिः । लेख्यसंज्ञाभिः अङ्गविन्यासकल्पिताभिः प्रचारमुपलभेत ।

उपलब्धस्योपजापमुपेयात् । "यथा मदान्ध" इत्यादिना । परेण चोक्तः पृष्टः स्वप्रकृतीनां सङ्ख्यया सारतश्च परिमाणं नाचक्षीत । प्रभूतान् सारांश्च ज्ञात्वा प्रार्थयेत । अन्यथाभिभवेदित्याशङ्कया परस्य ज्ञानाध्यारोपव्याजेन तु प्रलीयात् । यदाह—सर्वं वेद भवानिति । भवानेव चारचक्षुः सर्वं जानाति "विदो लटो वा" (३-४-८३) इति लट् । वयन्तु आत्मव्यापारमात्रविद एवेति । परिच्छिन्नपराभिप्रायो वा कार्यसिद्धिकरं कार्यसिद्धिहेतुं परिमाणं ब्रूयात् । भाययितुकामश्चेत् सङ्ख्या साराधिकमादातुकामश्चेदुभयावयं (?) ।

T. 81. कार्यस्यासिद्धाविति । सन्धिविग्रहार्थकार्यस्यासिद्धौ । उपरुध्यमानस्तर्कयेत् । किमर्थं मां न प्रेषयतीत्यूहे तस्य प्रदर्शनार्थमाह—किं भर्तुर्मे व्यसनं मरणं गुणप्रातिलोम्यादिना पश्यन्नुत्प्रेक्षमाणो मामुपरुणद्धि । किमिति विनश्वरेण सन्दधे स्वयमेव वा क्षयव्ययव्यसनेन विनङ्क्ष्यतीति । स्वं वा व्यसनं शक्यं प्रतिकर्तुकामः प्रतिकृत्य यथेष्टं सन्धास्ये विग्रहीष्यामीति । अस्माभिरभियास्यमानः पार्ष्णिग्राहानुगुण्याय तदासारमन्तःकोपात् पुरा मन्त्र्याद्युपजापाद् देशविलोपनार्थं समुत्थापयितुकामः । मित्रं सहायार्थमुद्यतम् आक्रन्दं वा पार्ष्णिग्राहोद्यतं स्वीकरणेन विघातयितुकामः । स्वं वा परतः परस्माच्छत्रोः विग्रहम् उपस्थितं प्रतिपीडाभयात् प्रतिकर्तुकामः । अन्तःकोपम् उत्थितं संप्रेषणात् पूर्वं प्रतिकर्तुकामः । आटविकं वा उपस्थितं उपग्रहार्थं प्रतिकर्तुकामः । संसिद्धं वोपपन्नं मे भर्तुर्यात्राकालमभिहन्तुकामः । कालयापनेन सस्यकुप्यपण्यसङ्ग्रहम्, दुर्गस्य अ(निपि ? विहि)तत्वाद् दुर्गकर्म प्राकारादिसंस्कारम् । बलसमुद्दानं वा मौलादिबलसंभारम् अभियास्यत्कर्मणि वक्ष्यमाणं परबलापेक्षया कर्तुकामः । स्वसैन्यानां वा पत्त्यादीनां व्यायामस्यानुगुणं देशकालं वाकाङ्क्षमाणः प्रतिपालयितुकामः । परिभवात् कोऽयं यदनेन सन्दध्यादिति, प्रमादाद् अनवधानात् । (कार्यासन्ना ?) T. 82. संसर्गानुबन्धार्थी वा कन्यादिप्रदानसंबन्धार्थी वा येन मामवरुणद्धीति । ज्ञात्वा वसेदपसरेद्वा स्वार्थं पश्यन् वसेत् । तस्यार्थं पश्यन्नविसृष्टोऽप्यपगच्छेत् । अन्यथा नापगच्छन्नरिणा नियम्येत ॥

M. 32. सङ्क्षेपेण दूतकर्माह—प्रेषणमित्यादि । प्रेषणं सन्देशप्रापणं परवृत्तान्तस्य वा प्रापणं तदेव व्यसनं पश्यतीति । सन्धिपालत्वं कृतस्य

सन्धेरनुवर्तनम् । **प्रतापः** शौर्यार्था ख्यातिः । **मित्रसङ्ग्रहः** अटव्यन्तपाल-पुरराष्ट्रमुख्यानां संसर्गादात्मसात्करणम् । **उपजापः** तत्कुलीनावरुद्धादीना-मुपजापनं "साधारणगर्दभेन दक्षान्" (अधि. १३. अध्या. १) इत्यादिना । **सुहृद्भेदः** परदोषस्वामिगुणदर्शनेन । **दण्डगूढातिसारणमिति** परदुर्गे दण्डातिनयनं वक्ष्यमाणं गूढपुरुषप्रणिधानं च ।

बन्धूनां पुत्रादीनां व्युत्थापनार्थम् **अपहरणं** प्रख्यातगुणानां स्त्रीवाहनादिरत्नानामपहरणम् । **चारज्ञानम्** । यथोक्तं तापसवैदेहकव्यञ्जना-भ्यामिति । (सामेधिक इति । समेधा वृद्धिस्तस्यै प्रभवति । समेधाभिश्चेति समेधावृद्धेर्याः ?) । **पराक्रमः** छिद्रे प्रवीरपुरुषहस्त्यादिव्यापादनम् । **समाधेः** पुत्रस्य तद्रत्नं? दत्तस्य मोक्षणमभ्युच्चये सति । **योगस्य** शस्त्राग्निरसप्रणिधानस्य **आश्रयः दूतस्य** सन्धिविग्रहनियुक्तस्य आनुषङ्गिकं सर्वमेतत् **कर्म** एव ॥

T. 83. एतद् राजा **स्वदूतैः कारयेत् परदूतांश्च** एवंकारिणो **रक्षयेत्** । **प्रतिदूतेना**त्मीयेन अपसर्पैश्च छत्राद्युपग्राहिभिः पूर्वोक्तैः । **दृश्यैः** चोरादि-रक्षाव्यपदेशनियुक्तैः । **अदृश्यैः** अविज्ञातैर्गृहोपवासिभिः कुड्यान्तर्हितैर्वा **रक्षिभिः** राक्षाकुशलैरित्यर्थः ॥

इति दूतप्रणिधिर्द्वादशं प्रकरणम् ।
षोडशश्चाध्यायः ॥

अथ सप्तदशोऽध्यायः

T.84. परदूतादप्यरक्ष्यमाणाद् अतर्कितोपनताद् राजराज्ययोरापदापतति । तस्मादुभयपक्षाणां सर्वथा यतितव्यम् । विशेषत आत्मरक्षायां यतो **रक्षितो राजा राज्यं रक्षतीति** राजरक्षणमधिक्रियते । रक्षितो राजा केन स्वयमेव राजवृत्त्यधिकाराद् राज्यं प्रकृती रक्षति । यथा दूतेभ्यः परार्थकारिभ्यो रक्ष्यस्तथा स्वार्थकारिभ्य **आसन्नेभ्यो** मन्त्र्यादिभ्यः **परेभ्यश्च** सामन्ताटविकेभ्यो रक्ष्यः, ततोऽप्यासन्नतरेभ्यः । अमित्रादयोऽहि बाह्या राज्यं हत्वा प्राणान् हन्युर्न वा, पार्श्वस्थास्तु प्राणान् हत्वा राज्यं हन्युर्न वा । अतः **पूर्वं दारेभ्यः** रहोविहारिभ्यः, **पुत्रेभ्यश्च** साधारणैश्वर्येभ्यो रक्ष्यः ॥

-तत्रापि दारकृतस्योपद्रवस्य पुत्रार्थत्वात् तद्रक्षणमेव प्रधानमिति राजपुत्ररक्षणमुच्यते । यदाह—**दाररक्षणं निशान्तप्रणिधौ वक्ष्यामः**

राजपुत्ररक्षणमिति........कारः । अथवा दाररक्षणं निशान्तप्रणिधौ भविष्यतीति शेषः । अधुना वक्ष्यामः पुत्ररक्षणमिति । ते रक्षिताः आत्मापि तेभ्यो रक्षितो भवति । स्वमतान्यमतसामान्यमाह—जन्मप्रभृतीति । प्रसवात् प्रभृति । राजेति राज्ञो रक्ष्यमाणत्वात् कर्त्रन्तराशङ्कानिवृत्त्यर्थम् । आत्मरक्षार्थं पुत्रान् रक्षेद् वक्ष्यमाणैरुपायैः ॥

रक्षणोपाये मतान्तराण्याह—कर्कटक इति । धर्मशब्दस्य कर्मार्थत्वात् समानकर्माणः । केनेत्याह जनकभक्षा इति । ते हि जनकमविनाश्य तदुदरान्न-निष्क्रामन्ति । एवं राजपुत्राः सागन्ध्यात् पितृविनाशेन तत्प्रकृतिभिरपरक्ता-भिरुपबृंहिताः समन्ताद् विजिगीषायां प्रवर्तन्ते ॥

तेषां जनापवादभयादुपांशुदण्डः श्रेयान् । स च यावदेव पितुरपत्य-स्नेहो न जायते । जातस्नेहो हि कार्यमतिपातयेत् । तन्नृशंसमिति अतिक्रूरधर्मः । (अदृष्टवधः) अज्ञातदोषस्य उत्प्रेक्षया यो वधः । क्षत्रबीजनाशश्च अवश्यंभावी । सन्तानोच्छेदात् प्रजापराभवः स्यात् । तस्मादेकस्थानावरोध आत्मनो यत् स्थानं तस्मिन्नेवावरोधः अस्वतन्त्री-करणं श्रेयान् ॥

अन्यैरसंसृज्यमानत्वादहिभयमेतदिति । एकगृहनिवासिनः सर्पादि-वद्भिरुत्युद्वेगलक्षणं भयमेतत् । भयस्य हेतुमाह—हि यस्माद्, T.85. M.33. विक्रमभयाद् भीतः पिता मां रुणद्धि । न चास्य मयि जीवति भयमपैष्यति येनास्मिन् जीवति मुच्येयमिति ज्ञात्वा कुमारः, तदेव अस्य पितुः विक्रमभयम् । अङ्के समीपे वर्तमानः । कुर्यात् तदेव वावरोधनं पितुः कुर्यात् । ननु चावरुद्धोऽसौ तदेव करोतीति निश्चीयते अपरोऽन्यानुपगृह्य कुर्यादपीत्या-शङ्क्य तस्मादहिभयप्रतीकारार्थम् । अन्तपालदुर्गे वासः श्रेयानिति । ततो न हि लक्ष्यत इति ॥

औरभ्रं भयमेतदिति । उरभ्रस्य मेषस्येदम् औरभ्रं भयम् । उपजापात् सहायवता अन्तपालेन प्रबलीकृतात्मशक्तेः राजपुत्रादुरभ्रादिव विस्रम्भान्म-हदापातभयं भवति तदेति दर्शयन्नाह प्रत्यापत्तेर्हि इति । यस्मादस्वातन्त्र्य-निवृत्तेस्तस्य तदेव पूर्वोक्तं विक्रमं कारणं बुद्ध्वा तदेव वान्तपालोपग्रहणम् । अन्तपलस्य सखा स्यात् । तस्य सखायम् आत्मानं निवेदयेत्—"तवेदं राज्यम्, अहं त्वदीय" इति । तस्मादौरभ्रभयप्रतिषेधार्थम् । स्वविषयादपकृष्टे

व्यवहिते । सामन्तदुर्गे राज्ञा अवस्थाप्यमानत्वात्, मित्रदुर्गे वा उदासीनदुर्गे वा वासः श्रेयान् । दूरतरादापततो भेषस्य शक्यप्रतिविधानत्वात् ॥

वत्सस्थानमेतदिति । वत्सप्रतारमेतदिति । तदेव प्रतारमाह— वत्सेन हि यथोपगृहीतेन स्नेहप्रस्नुतां धेनुं दोहको दोग्धि, एवं राजपुत्रोपगृहीतेन तत्तदुद्दिश्य पितरमस्य सामन्तो दुह्यात् । कोशदण्ड-भूमिभिः कर्शयेत् । तस्मात् तस्यात्मनश्च रक्षार्थं मातृबन्धुषु वासः श्रेयान् । ते ह्यस्य पितरं न दुह्युः ॥

ध्वजस्थानमेतदिति । ध्वजप्रतारमेव दर्शयन्नाह—तेन हि ध्वजेन निमित्त-भूतेन । T. 86. इदमस्य दौस्स्थित्यम्, अयं वो राजा भवितेति अनुकम्पां भयं वा प्रदर्श्य अस्य मातृबान्धवा अन्यान् भिक्षेरन् याचेरन् । दृष्टान्तमाह— अदितिकौशिकवदिति । यो देवताप्रतिमा(मादा)य भिक्षणं कुर्यादित्यदितिरुच्यते । कौशिकोऽहितुण्डिकः व्यालग्राहिक इत्यर्थः । तदुभयमपि देवतामहिञ्च ध्वजीकृत्य (दा)नादानाभ्यां तत्प्रसादकोपा(वा)दिशन् लोकं भिक्षेत । तस्माद् ग्राम्यसुखेषु मृगयादिषु एनमवसृजेत् । तस्मात् संवर्धनेनाभ्युपायेन रुद्धाः पुत्राः पुन्नाम्नो नरकात् त्राणशीलाः पितरं पालयितारं नाभिद्रुह्यन्ति ॥

पित्रा कल्पितवृत्तित्वात् सत्यं नाभिद्रुह्यन्ति । किन्तु राज्यप्रतिसन्धाना-योग्यः । यदाह—जीवन्मरणमेतदिति । जीवतां मरणमिव । तदेव दर्शयन्नाह—काष्ठमिव हीति । यथा काष्ठं त्वगादिभिर्व्याप्यमानमपि घुणजग्धं क्रिमिभिर्निस्सारीकृतं गृहीतमात्रं भज्यते, तथा राजकुलमप्यविनीतपुत्रं तत्प्रकृतिभिः व्याप्तमपि कामादिभिर्निस्सारीकृतत्वात् पराभियोगसमकालं प्रकृतीनां निराश्रयत्वात् भज्येत । अनेनाभियोक्तुरल्पं व्यापारं दर्शयति । यतः,

"विवृद्धाश्चानुरक्ताश्च प्रकृतीर्हन्त्यनात्मवान्" (अधि. ६. अध्या. १)

इति । तस्माद् गर्भाधानात् प्रभृति संस्कारे यतितव्यम् । तथा चाहुः—

"आहारेष्वथ योनौ च बीजे कर्मणि चापि यः ।
शुचिः कृच्छ्रगतस्यापि न पापे रमतेऽस्य धीः" ॥

इति । ऋतुमत्यां गर्भकालयोग्यायां महिष्यां सत्याम् । ऋत्विजो यज्ञकर्माधिकृताः । चरुमैन्द्राबार्हस्पत्यम् इन्द्रो बृहस्पतिश्च देवता यस्य तम् । निर्वपेयुः साधयेयुः । तं प्र(काश ? साध)यित्वा बीजमाधातव्यम् । अयं च (बी ? रा)जादीनां विधिः । अन्येषामवैदिकैर्मन्त्रैरौषधैश्च संस्कारो द्रष्टव्यः ।

आपन्नसत्त्वायां गृहीतगर्भायाः, **कौमारभृत्यो** बालतान्त्रिकः, कुमारस्य भृत्यं भरणं पोषणं तद्योगाच्छास्त्रमपि कुमारतन्त्रम् । "तदधीते"(४-२-५९)इत्यण् । संहस्व प्रक्रियया? **गर्भभर्मणि** रक्षणपोषणकर्मणि **प्रसवे च प्रयतेत** । **प्रजातायाश्च** प्रसूतायाः । **पुत्रसंस्कारं** जातकर्मादिकम् । **पुरोहितः कुर्यात्**, न ऋत्विजः । **समर्थं** विनययोग्यम् । **तद्विदो** विनयविदः, **विनयेयुः** ॥

T. 87. अत्र परमतमाह—**सत्रिणामिति** । कुमारमनुष्यव्यञ्जनानां सत्रिणाम्, **एक एनं कुमारम्** । **मृगयाद्यूतमद्यस्त्रीभिः** कामजव्यसनैः समस्तैर्व्यस्तैश्च पूर्वपक्षोक्तव्यायामादिगुणप्रदर्शनेन **लोभयेत्** । **पितरि वा विक्रम्य** विक्रमं कृत्वा **राज्यं गृहाणेति** स्वातन्त्र्यगुणख्यापनेन लोभयेत् । तं सत्रिणं लोभयितारं वा **अन्यस्तदीयव्यञ्जनः सत्री** स्तेनामित्रव्यालाद्युत्तरपक्षप्रदर्शनेन मृगयादिभ्यः त्रिवर्गविरोधेन पितृद्रोहात् **प्रतिषेधयेत्** । एवं विमृश्योभयतो निवृत्तो न पुनरात्मनः पितुर्वापचरति **इत्याम्भीयाः** अम्भेराचार्यस्य शिष्याः ॥

M. 34. अत्र दोषमाह—**महादोषमिति** । मृगयादिषु गुणानां सदोषाणां युद्धानां बोधनज्ञापनार्थं महादोषगुणरूपेण रथ्यमानस्य? दोषवत्वात् स्वर(स) **प्रवृत्तस्य** कालेन निवृत्तेः । यथोच्यते—

"दोषा दोषा इति ज्ञात्वा कालेनापि विरंस्यति ।
न तूपपत्तिर्विरते तद्गुणग्रहमानिनि" ॥

इति । तमन्यः प्रतिषेधयेदिति चेदाह—**नवं हीति** । **द्रव्यं** घटादिकम् । **येन येनार्थजातेन** घृतेन मद्येन वा **उपदिह्यते** श्लिष्यते **तत्तदाचूषयति** आपिबति । **एवमयं नवमतिः** अपरिणतबुद्धिः । स **यद्यदुच्यते**ऽहितं वा, **तत्तच्छास्त्रोपदेशं** शास्त्रविहितमुपदेशमिव आभिमुख्येन **जानाति** । **तस्मात्** करणीयवर्जनीयलक्षणं चतुर्वेदमस्योपदर्शयेत् । तत्र करणीयं द्विविधं **धर्ममर्थञ्च** गुरुप्रत्युत्थानादिकं देवतोपासनादिकं वा धर्मं यातव्यादानकृष्यादिकरणे वार्थम् । **नाधर्ममनर्थञ्चे**त्युभयं वर्जनीयम् । तत्र अनृतमगम्यागमनं वा अधर्मम् । (त?स)द्विच्छेदं बलवद्विग्रहं वा अनर्थं **नोपदिशेत्** ॥

सत्रिणश्च कुमारपुरुषत्वेन राज्ञा नियुक्ताः विशेषदर्शनेन **तव स्म** इति असाधारणतां **ब्रुवन्तो** व्यसनात् पित्रपकाराच्चैनं **रक्षेयुः** । तदेवोदाहरणार्थमाह—**यौवनोद्रेकादिति** । यौवनोद्रेकात् कारणात् **परस्त्रीषु मनः कुर्वाणम्** । उपदेशादनिवर्तमानं ब्रहिर्वस्त्रादिसंस्काराद् **आर्यव्यञ्जनाभिरनार्याभिरि**त्यर्थोक्तम् ।

अमेध्याभिः रक्तान्तश्शरीरसंस्काराभिः अनिष्टगन्धाभिः । **शून्यागारेषु** असंस्कार-बीभत्सेषु । **रात्राविति** सङ्केतकालार्थम् । **उद्वेजयेयुः** यदनुभवान्न पुनः प्रवर्तेत । **मद्यकामम्** । नवमपि रोचनाय **योगसहितेन पानेन उद्वेजयेयुः**, अनुभवाद् विरज्येत । **द्यूतकामं कापटिकैः** निरवग्रहैः अशास्त्रवध्यैः संरोध-वाक्पारुष्यखलीकारेणोद्वेजयेयुः । **मृगयाकामं प्रतिरोधकव्यञ्जनैः** चोरच्छद्म-भिरुद्यतशस्त्रैः **त्रासयेयुः** । T. 88. **पितरि विक्रमबुद्धिं** राजानं हन्तुकामम्, बन्धुकामं वा । **तथेति** तदभिप्रायेण । **अनुप्रविश्य भेदयेयुः** जातशङ्कं कुर्युः ॥

भेदप्रकारमाह—**अप्रार्थनीयोऽयमिति** । सारक्षत्वाद् वधबन्धनार्थं प्रार्थयितुमशक्योऽयं **राजेति** । यद्यपि प्रेक्षादौ रक्षाशैथिल्यादारभ्येत तथापि नैकान्तिकी **सिद्धिः** । **विपन्नेऽस्मिन्** प्रयोगे **घातः** । न बलमस्माकं वास्ति । **संपन्ने** सिद्धे । ऐकान्तिको **नरकपातः** । शरीरजननवर्धनरक्षणैः पितुः परमोपकारित्वात् । **संक्रोशः** पितुर्घ्नोऽयमिति सर्वव्यवहारोच्छेदी परिवादः । **प्रजाभिः** तदनुरक्ताभिः । अस्माकम् **एकलोष्टवधः** एकैकेन लोष्ट........इत्येवं **भेदयेयुः** ॥

विरागं पितरि विगतस्नेहम् । **प्रियम्** आत्मनः प्रजानां वा । **एकपुत्रं वेति** । तथाच प्रियमेवमप्रियमप्येकं पुत्रं **बध्नीयात्** । एवञ्च सति नापकरोति शिष्यते च, न तु प्रवासयेत् प्रजापरागभयाद् व्यसनभयाद्वा । **बहुपुत्रो** राजा विरागमप्रियं **प्रत्यन्तमनार्याधिष्ठितम्** । **अन्यविषयं वा** अरिमित्रोदासीन-मण्डलाद् बहिः **प्रेषयेत्** । **यत्र** प्रत्यन्तेऽन्यविषये वा । **गर्भः पण्यं डिम्भो वा न भवेत्** । गर्भ इव गर्भः, यत्रैनं पुत्रतया जामातृतया गर्भीकृत्य स्नेहात् प्रान्तिका अन्यवैषयिका वा न विकुर्वते । पण्यवत् पण्यम्, यत्रैनं प्रसार्य भिक्षया न शक्तिमात्मनः पूरयन्ति । डिम्भकारणत्वाद् डिम्भः, यत्र तदाश्रयात् कृत्यानुपगृह्य नोपद्रवं कुर्युः । **आत्मसंपन्नमिति** । आत्मसंपदा वक्ष्यमाणया युक्तः । तस्याधिकारित्वात् । **सैनापत्ये** सेनापतिकर्मणि चित्तपरीक्षार्थं **स्थापयेत्** । परीक्षितं वा क्रमेण **यौवराज्य** एव स्थापयेत् ॥

पुत्राश्च बुद्धिभेदात् त्रिविधा इत्याह—**बुद्धिमानिति** । एषां लक्षणमाह—**शिष्यमाणाविति** गुरुभिरुपदिश्यमानौ । **धर्मार्थावुपलभते** बुध्यते । **अनुतिष्ठति च** स्वयमारभते । बुद्धिमानिति प्रशंसायां मतुप् । न हि कस्यचिद् बुद्धिर्नास्तीति अयमात्मसंपन्न उच्यते । **उपलभमानो नानुतिष्ठति** आलस्याद् **आहार्यबुद्धिः** आचार्यैराहर्तव्या प्रतिक्षणमारोप्या बुद्धिर्यस्य तं प्रयत्नेन रक्षेत्, शिक्षयेच्च । **अपाय-**

नित्य इति । अपायेषु अपायकारणेषु कामादिषु नित्यः सन्निहितः । नित्यं षड्वर्गवशग इत्यर्थः । धर्मार्थद्वेषी नास्तिको मूलहरत्वादिदोषयुक्तश्च । दुर्बुद्धिः दुष्टबुद्धिः ॥

M. 35. T. 89. स यद्येकः पुत्रः तथाप्यस्य राज्यार्हत्वात् सन्तानानुच्छेदनार्थमस्य पुत्रोत्पत्तौ यथोक्तम् ऋत्विग्भिः प्रयतेत । बीजदोषाद्वा तदपत्यस्यापि दोषोत्प्रेक्षायां पुत्रिकाणां पुत्रकल्पानां दुहितॄणां ब्राह्मणैः क्षत्त्रियैर्वा पुत्रानुत्पादयेत् । ते ह्यौरसतुल्याः । तथा चोक्तम्—"तत्तुल्यः पुत्रिकापुत्रः" इति । वृद्धस्त्विति । यदा राजा वृद्धः लुप्तबीजः । व्यधितो वा महाव्याधिभिर्युक्तः । सन्तानराज्यानुसन्धानार्थं मातृबन्धूनामन्यतमेन मातृबन्धुना स्वकुल्येन वा पितृव्यपुत्रादिना धर्माविरोधात् । गुणवता सामन्तेन स्वक्षेत्रे नान्यपूर्वायां भार्यायाम् । बीजमुत्पादयेत् निषेचयेदित्यर्थः । यदि वा बीजमिव बीजं पुत्रं सन्तानहेतु.... । न चैकपुत्रमविनीतं राज्ये स्थापयेद्, अयोग्यत्वात् ॥

बहूनामित्यादि । बहूनान्तु विरागाणां प्रत्यन्तान्यविषयसंप्रेणं विनापि । एकसंरोधः एकस्थानावरोधः स्यात्, मा भूदहिभयमिति । पिता पुत्रहितो भवेद् विनयाधानादिना । ते हि परस्परस्पर्धया प्राप्तगुणा उत्तरकाले राज्यप्राप्तियोग्या भवन्ति । तेषाञ्च राज्ययोग्यानां पित्रा अवरोप्यमाणं राज्यं ज्येष्ठभाग्येव धर्माविरोधात् पूज्यते । अस्य कनीयसां पालयितृत्वात् तैश्चानुवर्तमानत्वात् । तत्रापि अन्यत्रापद इति शरीरवैकल्यलक्षणामापदं त्यक्त्वा । तस्य अराज्यार्हत्वात् । अयं धर्मापेक्षया प्रथमो विधिः ॥

अर्थापेक्षया कुलस्य वा भवेद्राज्यमिति । सर्वेषां वा विभक्तं वा भवेद् राज्यमन्योन्यसंश्रयम् । (हि)यस्मात् परसंश्रयपरिजिहीर्षया । कुलसङ्घः अन्योन्यपरिगृहीतः । (नै? परै)र्दुर्जयः । अराजव्यसनाबाधः अविद्यमानराजव्यसनः, अविद्यमानपराबाधश्च । शश्वदविच्छेदेन । आवसति क्षितिम् अधितिष्ठतीत्यर्थः । "उपान्वध्याङ्वसः" (१.४.४८) इति अधिकरणे कर्मसंज्ञा । तथा चाहुः—

"महानप्येकजो वृक्षो बलवान् सुप्रतिष्ठितः ।
विषह्य एव(वा)तस्य शाखाः स्कन्धश्च मर्दितुम् ॥
अथ ये बहवो वृक्षाः संहताः सुप्रतिष्ठिताः ।
तेन शीघ्रतरान् वातान् सहन्तेऽन्योन्यसंश्रयाः" ॥ इति ॥

इति राजपुत्ररक्षणं त्रयोदशं प्रकरणम् ।
सप्तदशश्चाध्यायः ॥

GRAHACĀRANIBANDHANA

OR

PARAHITAGAṆITA

OF

HARIDATTA

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with an Introduction and an Appendix
BY

K. V. SARMA, M.A., B.SC.

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INTRODUCTION

The *Grahacāranibandhana* of Haridatta is a basic text of the *Parahita* system of astronomy prevalent in South India. This rare work and a *Saṅgraha* of it are critically edited here with the help of five Malayalam palmleaf manuscripts of the former and two manuscripts of the latter, one in Malayalam and the other in Grantha.

Parahita Ganita

The Parahita system of astronomical computation is based on the *Āryabhaṭīya* and has the widest vogue in Kerala, from where it spread to the Tamil area. Its popularity can be gauged from the fact that hardly any Kerala manuscript containing *Jyotiṣa* works can be found which does not have somewhere in it the Parahita constants, *viz.*, the *Guṇakāras* and *Hārakas* for deriving the mean positions of planets, the *Jyā-vākyas* or tables of the equation of the centre, (at least of the sun and the moon), and a *Khaṇḍa* giving the epoch in a round number of Kali days with the *Dhruvas* or positions of the planets at sunrise on that date. Even after the advent of the more accurate *Dṛk* system, it was stressed that the Parahita alone should be used for computing *Muhūrtas* etc.

Date

Both Malayalam and Sanskrit astronomical works of Kerala affirm that the Parahita system was introduced in Kali 3785, corresponding to A. D. 683. Thus *Dṛkkaraṇa*,[1] a Malayalam astronomical manual in ten chapters, in its introduction tracing the *Dṛk* system, says:

तदा ह्यार्यभटो नाम गणकस्त्वभवद् भुवि ।
ज्ञानतुङ्गे(3600)ति कल्यब्दे जातनाय् अवनीतले ॥ ६ ॥
गिरितुङ्गे(3623)ति कल्यब्दे गणितं निर्मितं परम् ।
शास्त्रमार्यभटीयाख्यं तस्मिन् पर्ययमुक्तवान् ॥ ७ ॥

* * *

1. Travancore Univ. Mss. Library, Ms. No. C. 7-c.

पिन्ने इग्गणितत्तिन्नु नीक्कं कण्टितु भूतले ।
मन्दस्थले(3785)ति कल्यब्दे तनुते(606)ति शकाब्दके ॥ १७ ॥

[परहित-शकाब्दसंस्कारः]

पेरं परहितमेन्नु, गणितं सूक्ष्ममेन्नितु ।
इति निश्चित्य पलरुम् आचरिच्चवनीतले ॥ २४ ॥

Saṅkara Varman, a prince of Kaḍattanāḍ in Malabar, says in his *Sadratnamālā*:[1]

आचार्यार्यभटप्रणीतकरणं प्रायः स्फुटं तत्कलौ
गोत्रोत्तुङ्ग(3623)मिताब्दके, व्यभिचरन् ब्रह्मादिसिद्धान्तके ।

[परहित-शकाब्दसंस्कारः]

दृग्वैषम्यवशात् महास्थल(3785)मिते कल्यब्दके निश्चितः
संस्कारो विबुधैर्यतः परहितस्त्वं तेषु वीनेष्वयम् ॥ VI. 1-3

The Malayalam commentary on this work explains that the system was called *Parahita* since it was accepted by all people.[2] It may be noted here that *Para* may denote one outside the fold, in the present context, one who has not a scientific knowledge of astronomy, *viz.*, the layman. The new system was intended to bring to the ordinary man the terse numerical symbols and long-drawn calculations of Āryabhaṭa in a much simplified manner and reduced to the elements of Mathematics and it is therefore highly probable that the name *Parahita* was given to it on this account.[3] Haridatta too says at the close of his work that he composed it for the *Paras*, *para-hita-hetoḥ* (III. 50).

Scholars have hitherto understood by Parahita only the system current under that name and nothing seems to have been known of *Grahacāranibandhana*, the basic text of that system, or its author. It is generally presumed that the system was inaugurated by Kerala astronomers at Tirunāvāy on the Bhāratappuzha river on the occasion of the twelve-yearly

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1. *ibid.*, Ms. No. 8322-a (with Mal. Com.)

2. *Cf.* "yātoru saṁskāram koṇṭu ellā janaṅṅalkkum sammatam vannatināl Parahitam ennu ā gaṇitattinnu pērum vannu."

3. I am indebted to Sri T. S. Kuppanna Sastri for this interpretation of the term.

Māmāṅkam festival held at that place, when they felt the need to correct the results arrived at through the *Āryabhaṭīya.*[1]

The date of the *Grahacāranibandhana-Saṅgraha*, added to this edition as an Appendix, is known from the *Khaṇḍa* which it mentions, *viz.*, गारसं रसवर्यं (14,72,723), which works out to 932 A.D.

HARIDATTA, THE AUTHOR

Haridatta pays obeisance at the beginning of the work (I.1) to Brahmā, probably in reference to the *Brahma-Siddhānta* which He is said to have expounded and which is taken to be followed by Āryabhaṭa. The only personal detail that Haridatta gives is that he was solely devoted to Viṣṇu. *cf.*

हरिदत्तेन निगदितं हरिपद्कमलैकभक्तेन । (III. 50)

The numerous *Karaṇa* texts of Kerala in Malayalam and in Sanskrit which incorporate bodily the tabular equations and constants of *Grahacāranibandhana* do so without making mention of their source. It would seem, though it is somewhat strange, that the more the system grew popular, the more the author was pushed into oblivion. However, references to Haridatta and his work are found in some works.

Gārgya Kerala Nīlakaṇṭha of Keḷallūr (born A. D. 1443)[2] while commenting on *Āryabhaṭīya* II. 16[3] cites Haridatta on the matter of Friday being the first day of the Kaliyuga; *cf.* तद्यथा 'युगमाने इते भेन' (*Grahacāranibandhana,* I. 14) इति हरिदत्तोक्तनीत्या ।

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1. *See* Ulloor S. Paramesvara Aiyar, *History of Kerala Literature,* I. 165. *See* also: *Yuktibhāṣā* (Mangalodayam, Trichur), Intro., p. 2; Puliyoor S. Purushottaman Namputiri, *Gaṇitanirṇaya,* (2nd edn.), Intro., p. 2; N. K. Krishna Pillai, *Jyotiśśāstrādarśam,* II. 240; K. Kannan Nair, *Jyotirgaṇitam,* Vidyāpoṣiṇi Granthāvali, Bk. I, pp. 96-7.

2. *Cf.* Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on his own *Siddhāntadarpaṇa,* verse 18:

'शिवशिवे' (4545) ति कल्यब्दैः......स्वजन्मकालज्ञापनार्थं चैवमुक्तम् ।
तदाहर्गणश्च 'त्यज्याम्यशतां तर्कैः' (16,60,111) इति ।

Palace, Trivandrum, Ms. No. 975.

3. *Cf. Āryabhaṭīya with the bhāṣya of Nīlakaṇṭha,* Pt. II, T. S. S. 110, p. 29. The form Hara*d*atta used here sees to be a Ms, error.

Parameśvara of Ālattūr, author of Kerala *Dṛgganita* (A. D. 1431)[1] refers to Haridatta in his *Vākyakaraṇa*:

सन्दिग्धवाक्यस्य दिनं गतावृत्तिद्युभिर्युतम् ।
तद्दिनान्मन्दशीघ्रोच्चे हरिदत्तोक्तमार्गतः ।
स्वमन्दोच्चयुते कार्ये ; (II. 22-23a)

And the commentator Sundararāja (*c.* 1500 A. D.) of the Tamil country, a contemporary of Nīlakaṇṭha, who corresponded with him on astronomical matters,[2] explains:

हरिदत्तोक्तमार्गतः परहितोक्तप्रकारेण ।

Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa (A. D. 869),[3] protege of King Ravi Varma Kulaśekhara of Kerala, pays his respects to Haridatta in the Introduction to his commentary on the Laghubhāskarīya, along with other authorities on the subject:

आचार्यार्यभटं वराहमिहिरं श्रीमद्गुरुं भास्करं
गोविन्दं हरिदत्तमत्र शिरसा वक्ष्ये प्रणम्य क्रमात् । [4]

Again he has a long quotation from the *Grahacāranibandhana*, verses III. 26-28, on finding the velocity of planets at a particular moment, which he introduces with the statement:

एवमुक्तं हि हरिदत्तेनाचार्येण । [5]

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1. *Cf.* एवं दृग्गणितं शाके त्रीषुविश्व(1353)मिते कृतम् ।

2. An outcome of this correspondence is the work *Sundararāja-praśnottara,* referred to both by Sundararāja (*cf.* his *Vākyakaraṇa-vyākhyā*, V. last verse:

अत्र तु गतियोगांशकेनैव हरणं युक्तमिति श्रीमत्केरलसद्ग्रामनिवासि-नीलकण्ठार्येण...अस्मदनुग्रहार्थं सुन्दरराजप्रश्नोत्तराख्ये ग्रन्थे प्रतिपादितम् ।)

and Nīlakaṇṭha (*Cf.* सुन्दरराजप्रश्नोत्तरे मयोक्तमत्राप्यनुसन्धेयम् । *Āryabhaṭīya-bhāṣya, Golapāda,* Travancore Univ. Mss. Library, Ms. No. T. 296, p. 250).

3. *Cf.* एवं शकाब्दाः पुनरिह चन्द्र-रन्ध्र-मुनि(791)संख्यया अस्माभिरवगताः । *Laghubhāskarīya* with the commentary of Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, T. S. S. 162, p. 4.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

WORKS OF HARIDATTA

Besides *Grahacāranibandhana* which is only a *Karaṇa* or manual,[1] an earlier and comprehensive treatise, *Mahāmārganibandhana*, is also known as a work of Haridatta; for the first time we find it mentioned in the *Grahacāranibandhana*, III. 44, where the author says that he is not dwelling upon *Deśāntara* etc. there since he has already dwelt with them in the *Mahāmārganibandhana*.

Sundararāja in his *Vākyakaraṇa* (*Vākyapañcādhyāyī*) *vyākhyā* (II. 19-21) quotes a verse of Haridatta[2] which is not found in the *Grahacāranibandhana*, but whose purport is expressed in the *Saṅgraha*, verses 17-18. This verse might be from this second work. It would also seem that the term *Parahita* connoted both the works of the system, the *Grahacāranibandhana* and the *Mahāmārganibandhana*.

SAKABDASAMSKARA

The distinctive contribution of Haridatta, apart from his resolving the Āryabhaṭīya calculations and using the *Kaṭapayādi* system of numerals,[3] is the correction he introduced for

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1. A study on this work is intended to be prefixed to the Translation when it is published.

2. For the full text of the quotation, see below.

3. *Cf.* also Sundararāja, *Vākyakaraṇa-vyākhyā*, II. 7; commenting on the *Kaṭapayādi* notation used in that text he says:

सूर्यसिद्धान्त-भास्करीयादिशास्त्रसिद्धान्तभूतसंख्यापराणि रूपनेत्रादीनि एकद्वित्र्यादीन्यपहाय हरिदत्तादिभिरंगीकृतपरहितशास्त्रोक्तन्यायेन कटपयादिभिरेव संख्याभिधीयत इति ।

One point of interest may be noticed here. Datta and Singh observe (*History of Hindu Mathematics*, Vol. I, p. 21) about the *Katapayādi* system that, "its first occurrence known to us is found in the *Laghubhāskarīya* of Bhāskara I (522)" and refer in support to the verse *Vāgbhāvonāt* etc. (see below) which was found in a Ms. of *Laghubhāskarīya* examined by them. Dr. P. K. Narayana Pillai in his edition of this work (T. S. S. 162) points out (Intro. p. ix-x) that this must be an extraneous verse and that ten out of the eleven Mss. of *Laghubhāskarīya* used for his edition do not have it. Apart from this Ms. evidence it can be easily seen that this cannot be a verse of Bhāskara since he did not use any Śakābda-saṁskāra which is expressed in this particular verse. As Bhāskara followed close upon Āryabhaṭa, his teacher, the necessity for this correction was not apparent during his time and later

the values of the mean and true positions, the velocity, etc., of the moon and other planets as obtained from Āryabhaṭa's constants. This correction is called *Śakābda-saṁskāra* since it applied from the date of Āryabhaṭa in the *Śaka* era, *viz.*, 444 (वाग्भाव, विभव, भवभानु), at which date his constants gave accurate results. Sundararāja enunciates the *Saṁskāra*:[1]

एवंसिद्धशीघ्रोच्चमध्यमानां स्थूलत्वपरिहाराय हरिदत्त-परहिताद्युक्तेन—

वाग्भावोनाच्छकाब्दाद्धन-शत-लय-हान्मन्द-वैलक्ष्य-रागै-

444 9 65 13 85 134 32

रासाभिर्लिप्तिकाभिर्विरहिततनवश्चन्द्रतत्तुङ्गपाताः ।

शोभा-नीरूढ-संविद्-गणक-नर-हतान्मागराप्ताः कुजाद्याः

45 420 47 153 20 235

संयुक्ता ज्ञारसौरा विरहिततनुकौ जीवशुक्रौ न भानोः ॥

इत्यनेन संस्कारेण कर्तव्यः ।

The above *Saṁskāra* states that for every completed year after śaka 444 (Kali 3600), a correction in *kalās* (minutes) of −9/85, −65/134, −13/32, +45/235, +420/235, −47/235, —153/235 and +20/235 should be made to the mean positions of the Moon, its Apsis and Node, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn respectively and that no correction need be made in the case of the Sun. As has been mentioned above this correction is not expressed in the *Grahacāranibandhana*, but is given in a verbally different form in verses 17-18 of the *Saṅgraha* which also gives a variant of the correction in the next three verses.

MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL

The edition of *Grahacāranibandhana* is based on five manuscripts, three of which I found in the Travancore University Manuscripts Library and the other two in H. H. the Maharaja's Palace Library, Trivandrum (one included among Sanskrit manuscripts and the other among Malayalam manus-

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authors like Parameśvara, Nīlakaṇṭha and Sundararāja observe that Bhāskara was unaware of this *saṁskāra*.

Kerala tradition ascribes the invention of the *Kaṭapayādi* system to a Kerala Vararuci who is also credited with the 248 *Candra-Vākyas*, better known as *Vararuci-Vākyas*, composed in this system and used in astronomical computations in Kerala. (Ed. with notes and appendices by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Adyar Library, 1948. There are also many local editions).

1. *Cf. Vākyakaraṇa-vyākhyā*, II. 19-21.

cripts). All the five are Keralite palmleaf manuscripts written in Malayalam script. These are designated A to E.

A. No. 8324-H of the University Mss. Library. This is the most complete of the Mss., extending to III. 39, about a dozen verses at the end alone being missing; also this alone contains ch. II in full. The text preserved, however, is far from pure and the occurrence of lacuna at places due to white ants also lessens its value. The codex is old and damaged and contains nine works, all on astronomy, mostly Kerala works, of which the present work occurs as the eighth.

B. No. 891 of the Palace Library, described in the Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. of the Library, vol. III, pp. 1183-4. This Ms. is complete except for ch. II, which is omitted, probably due to its being merely the enumeration of the *Manda* and *Śīghra Jyās*. This Ms. alone contains the last verses of the work, III. 40-50. The text preserved is fairly pure, but scribal errors are frequent. The codex is old and damaged.

C. No. 4321-A of the Palace Library, described in the Des. Cata. of Malayalam Mss. of the Library, vol. II, pp. 429-30. It is incomplete and extends only to III. 29. Also of ch. II, it contains only the first verse; the scribe is conscious of the omission and has left a page in continuation (f. 2-b) blank. Again III. 3-12 (विशेषेण 3-a to स्तनांगना 12-a) are found transferred to after verse 29. The pages in the Ms. are consecutive and the lines continuous. This transference should have, therefore, been carried over to this Ms. by an unsuspecting scribe from its archetype in which a folio might have been kept reversed. The Ms. does not look very old. Scribal mistakes abound in this.

D. No. 5129-G of the University Mss. Library. This Ms. contains only ch. I. It is much damaged and the text preserved is often very faulty. The codex contains about 10 works, all of which are on astronomy.

E. No. 5129-F.1 of the University Mss. Library. This is a single uncatalogued folio in D, placed just

before it, containing verses 1-12c of ch. I. Since this presents some readings different from D, it is treated as a separate Ms. and used for this edition.

The *Grahacāranibandhana Saṅgraha* is edited from two manuscripts, one of which is complete while the other is only a fragment.

A. No. L. 1344-C of the University Mss. Library. Palmleaf; Malayalam script. The text preserved is not quite pure. The codex looks old and contains five other works, all on astronomy.

B. No. 5608 (5) of the India Office Library, London, described in their Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākṛt Manuscripts, Keith, Vol. II, p. 481. Palmleaf, written in Grantha script. The Ms. of this work in this codex consists only of one folio, the 191st, which breaks off in the middle of the first line of the reverse and contains only a fragment of the text, verses 1 to 7. The codex is not very old but is much damaged. Besides Kālaprakāśikā of Nṛsiṁha, it contains several Jyotiṣa fragments and is obviously copied from a Malayalam archetype as is attested by Malayalam matter written here in Grantha characters.

Since verses from *Grahacāranibandhana* and its *Saṅgraha* are found incorporated or quoted anonymously in later works an Index of halves of verses has been added to this edition to facilitate tracing such verses.

I am indebted to Sri T. S. Kuppanna Sastri of the Sanskrit Department of the Presidency College, Madras, for explaining to me several passages in this work and helping me through this edition. I am grateful to the Hon. Director, University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum, for supplying me a copy of one of their manuscripts of the main text and variants from the others, and a copy of the *Saṅgraha*; to Dr. L. A. Ravi Varma and the authorities of H. H. the Maharaja's Palace Library, Trivandrum, for permitting me to note the variants in their Mss.; to the India Office Library, London; and to Dr. V. Raghavan who procured for me the manuscript of the *Saṅgraha* from the last institution and went through this Introduction and made suggestions.

MADRAS,
Śrāvaṇa-pūrṇimā,
14th August, 1954.

K. V. SARMA

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हरिदत्तकृतम्

ग्रहचारनिबन्धनम्

नाम

परहितकरणम्

॥ अथ प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥

[मङ्गलाचरणम्]

हरिनाभिसमुत्पन्नपद्मकिञ्जल्कवर्तिने ।
प्रणम्य ब्रह्मणे कुर्यां ग्रहचारनिबन्धनम् ॥ १ ॥

[अहर्गणानयनम्]

समा मासीकृता युक्ता यातमासैर्दिनीकृताः ।
अतीततिथिसंयुक्ता याताः कार्या यथास्मृति ॥ २ ॥

त्रिशरीरीकृते राशावधस्ताद् युद्धवर्धितात् ।
91
अनूनज्ञानतुङ्गासं मध्यात् कालगुणादणम् ॥ ३ ॥
3600000 31
तं हत्वा हेमरत्नाङ्गैरधिमासाः फलं वृथा ।
30258
शेषे शंगुणिते तेषां दधिकामैर्विभाजिते ॥ ४ ॥
5 5198

Note: Numbers in the footnotes refer to stanzas, and *a* and *b* refer to the halves of the verses.

1*b*. B. E. कुर्यात्

3*a*. A. Corrupt राशावाधस्तभ्युदवार्धतात्. C. E. वर्धिताः, D. वर्धिते

b. A. D. तुङ्गासमध्यात्, B. तुङ्गातान्मध्यात्, C. तुङ्गासां मध्यात्. ।

4*a*. A. C. D. रविमासा. A. E. मासात्

b. A. Corrupt गुणिका शेषामधि. D. विभाजितैः, E. विभजयेत्

before it, containing verses 1-12c of ch. I. Since this presents some readings different from D, it is treated as a separate Ms. and used for this edition.

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B. No. 5608 (5) of the India Office Library, London, described in their Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākṛt Manuscripts, Keith, Vol. II, p. 481. Palmleaf, written in Grantha script. The Ms. of this work in this codex consists only of one folio, the 191st, which breaks off in the middle of the first line of the reverse and contains only a fragment of the text, verses 1 to 7. The codex is not very old but is much damaged. Besides Kālaprakāśikā of Nṛsiṁha, it contains several Jyotiṣa fragments and is obviously copied from a Malayalam archetype as is attested by Malayalam matter written here in Grantha characters.

Since verses from *Grahacāranibandhana* and its *Saṅgraha* are found incorporated or quoted anonymously in later works an Index of halves of verses has been added to this edition to facilitate tracing such verses.

I am indebted to Sri T. S. Kuppanna Sastri of the Sanskrit Department of the Presidency College, Madras, for explaining to me several passages in this work and helping me through this edition. I am grateful to the Hon. Director, University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum, for supplying me a copy of one of their manuscripts of the main text and variants from the others, and a copy of the *Saṅgraha*; to Dr. L. A. Ravi Varma and the authorities of H. H. the Maharaja's Palace Library, Trivandrum, for permitting me to note the variants in their Mss.; to the India Office Library, London; and to Dr. V. Raghavan who procured for me the manuscript of the *Saṅgraha* from the last institution and went through this Introduction and made suggestions.

MADRAS,
Śrāvaṇa-pūrṇimā,
14th August, 1954.

K. V. SARMA

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हरिदत्तकृतम्

ग्रहचारनिबन्धनम्

नाम

परहितकरणम्

॥ अथ प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥

[मङ्गलाचरणम्]

हरिनाभिसमुत्पन्नपद्मकिञ्जल्कवर्तिने ।
प्रणम्य ब्रह्मणे कुर्यां ग्रहचारनिबन्धनम् ॥ १ ॥

[अहर्गणानयनम्]

समा मासीकृता युक्ता यातमासैर्दिनीकृताः ।
अतीततिथिसंयुक्ता याताः कार्या यथास्मृति ॥ २ ॥

त्रिशरीरीकृते राशावधस्ताद् युद्धवर्धिताद् ।
91
अनूनज्ञानतुङ्गाप्तं मध्यात् कालगुणादणम् ॥ ३ ॥
3600000 31
तं हत्वा हेमरत्नाङ्गैरधिमासाः फलं वृथा ।
30258
शेषे शंगुणिते तेषां दधिक्रामैर्विभाजिते ॥ ४ ॥
5 5198

Note: Numbers in the footnotes refer to stanzas, and *a* and *b* refer to the halves of the verses.

1*b*. B. E. कुर्यात्

3*a*. A. Corrupt राशावाधस्तम्युदवार्धितात्. C. E. वर्धिताः, D. वर्धिते

b. A. D. तुङ्गाप्तमध्यात्, B. तुङ्गाप्तान्मध्यात्, C. तुङ्गाप्तां मध्यात् ।

4*a*. A. C. D. रविमासा. A. E. मासात्

b. A. Corrupt गुणिका शेषामधि. D. विभाजितैः, E. विभाजयेत्

अधिकाहानवा[illegible]स्थितराशेर्विशोधयेत् ।
[illegible] च कृत्वा त्रिधा;धःस्थं सुगुणं निरयोद्धृतैः ॥ ५ ॥

7 69120

विभज्य लब्धं मध्यस्थे प्रक्षिपेत् प्रस्थवर्धिते ।

72

धराधवैर्विभज्यैनं लब्धमूर्ध्वस्थिते धनम् ॥ ६ ॥

4929

अहर्गणो भटस्यैष; विशेषोऽत्र विधीयते ।
निबद्धं शोधयेच्छेषादधिमासनवागमे ॥ ७ ॥

930

तदशुद्धावसत्योऽसावधिमासो नवो मतः ।
तदा सहेमरत्नाङ्कः शेषोऽधीकाहसाधनम् ॥ ८ ॥

30258

तच्छुद्धौ त्रिंशदेव स्युरधिकाहास्तदादि च ।
एकहीना गता मासा योज्या मासेषु धीमता ॥ ९ ॥

अतीततिथिसंयोगे खण्डत्वात् संशये सति ।
कृत्वा यथावच्छुक्रादिवारेणान्ते विनिर्णयः ॥ १० ॥

गतमासस्य चान्द्रत्वादधिकाहविशोधनम् ।
शुद्धे सौरेऽपरेणैव कर्मणा स्यादहर्गणः ॥ ११ ॥

5*a*. A. Broken अधिका...न...प्यूर्ध्व स्थिरे राशे, C. र्ध्वा स्थिते राशे
b. A. C. त्रिधाधस्थात्. A. स्वगुणं, B. E. Corrupt सुगुणो निरयोधते, C. सुगुणैः
6*a*. A. C. मध्यस्थं, E. मध्यस्थः. E. वर्धितं
7*a*. A. भटस्यैवं
b. B. शेषान्. C. D. सा for स
8*a*. E. ततश्शुद्ध. C. मखो मतः
b. C. रत्नाङ्कैः, E. रत्नाङ्के. C. D. E. शेषोहीकाह
9*a* E. तच्छुद्धो. E. तदाधिके
b. B. एका
10*a*. A. Corrupt वधीत्वात् for खण्डत्वात्, C. खण्डित्वात्
b. B. C. D. कृत्वा कथंचित्. D. दिर्वारेण. A. विनिश्चयः
11*a*. B. दधिकाहान् विशोधयेत्, C. विशोधनात्
b. C. शुद्धो सौरो. A. कर्मणा for क्रमेण

[मह्रोच्चमध्यमानि]

अथोच्चमध्यमप्राप्तिरुपायो लघुरुच्यते ।
अहरात्मकमत्र स्याद्बीजगन्नूपुरं युगम् ॥ १२ ॥
210389

भटशुद्धदिने भक्ते युगाह्नैरवशेषितः ।
द्युगणस्स्वोच्चमध्येच्छा, युगमानं च तत्फलम् ॥ १३ ॥

युगमाने हते भेन सेनभक्ते सितादिना ।
4 7
तच्छेषेण सरूपेण स्वयुगादौ दिनाधिपः ॥ १४ ॥
1
इच्छा स्युर्भानुभगणा द्वादशघ्नाः सराशिकाः ।
ज्ञेया धनर्णसिद्ध्यर्थं तत्फलं च कलादिकम् ॥ १५ ॥
युगभोगध्रुवं कुर्याद्युगमानविवर्धितम् ।
राशिषट्कत्रिकाविन्दुपातोच्चध्रुवयोर्धनम् ॥ १६ ॥
दिवि नवसानुनिकामं, प्रापुः सेना बली सुरा राज्ञा ।
5-10-7-40-48 2-27-33-7-12
अनु किल सम्मतिनाथः, प्राप्यस्थानं शिवारिरतम् ॥ १७ ॥
7-6-57-31-0 6-22-45-7-12
वरतरसारभराङ्गं, राज्यं धन्यं मुनज्मि पूताप्तम् ।
3-24-27-26-24 6-15-4-19-12
प्रियगर्भो नगवनकृद्, देवरवोनं मतं कृपया ॥ १८ ॥
1-4-30-43-12 11-16-50-42-48

12*a*. D. प्रोक्तेरुपायो, E. प्रोक्तं रूपायो

13*a*. C. भटश्शुद्धदिने

b. A. C. द्विगुण. A. स्योच्च. C. मध्यस्था, D. मध्यस्थयुग

14*a*. Quoted by Gārgya Kerala Nīlakaṇṭha in his Āryabhaṭīya Bhāṣya, III. 16.

C. D. Corrupt हते तेन. C. Corrupt सेनादितोदिनात्. A. सिकोदिना

b. D. सच्छेषेण. C. स्वरूपेण

15*a*. A. B. D. इच्छा. स्वभा

16*a*. A. B. C. विद्यात् for कुर्यात्., D. विवर्धिते

17*a*. B. बलिं

b. B. C. अनुतिल. A. सज्ञनि. B. D. नाथं A. शिवनिसिलि, B...रितं; C. शिवदिरतं.

18*a*. C. D. सालभराङ्ग. C. पूतानाम्

b. A. Corrupt प्रीत्यगर्भो, B. देवरमोनं

पादे पादे ज्ञेया युगभोगाः शीतरश्मिमुख्यानाम् ।
पातान्तानामष्टौ यथाक्रमं तत्परापूर्वाः ॥ १९ ॥
अर्कवर्ज्यंध्रुवं विद्याद् भूयो भूयो युगागमे ।

[ग्रहाणां गुणकार-हारकाः]

अथोच्चमध्यमादीनामुच्यन्ते गुणहारकाः ॥ २० ॥
गुणकारः कुलं भानो,र्भाजको गोत्रगायकः ।
31 11323
गुणो मामृणलाभाय, सभास्तुत्यो विभाजकः ॥ २१ ॥
5 1647
अनन्तं गुणयेदिन्दो,र्विभजेद्गन्धगीतकैः ।
600 16393
गुणयेदणलाभाय किं, शरेर्षी विभाजकः ॥ २२ ॥
1 625
गुणकारः क्षमासूनोः किं, सुजातो विभाजकः ।
1 687
किं गुणो धनलाभाय, भानुहारी विभाजकः ॥ २३ ॥
1 2804
अनीकं गुणकृच्चान्द्रेः, साधुसाह्वी विभाजकः ।
100 8797
वर्धयेद्धनलाभाय धी,र्विदाही विभाजकः ॥ २४ ॥
9 884
गुणकारो गुरोर्नाको, हारको गुरुगालवः ।
10 43323
धनाय गुणकारः किं, तीरनीपो विभाजकः ॥ २५ ॥
1 1026
धीभोगप्रापको हारो, ननाम गुणकृद् भृगोः ।
112349 500
वर्धयेदणसंसिद्ध्यै किं, यक्षेशो विभाजकः ॥ २६ ॥
1 561

20*b*. A. D. कारकाः
21*b*. A. स्तुत्यौ
22*a*. Mss. read गीतकृत्; गीतकैः is the popular memorial version.
23*a*. C. सनौ
24*a*. C. चान्द्री
b. A. 1st half गुण...लाभाय. D. ससिध्यै for लाभाय
25*b*. C. 1st half गुणः किं धनसंसिध्यै
26*b*. D. गुणयेद् for वर्धयेद्. B. ऋणलाभाय

किं गुणः सूर्यपुत्रस्य, हारकस्ततसैनिकः ।
1 10766
ऋणाय गुणकारः किं, सारसारो विभाजकः ॥ २७ ॥
1 2727
किं गुणश्चन्द्रतुङ्गस्य, रङ्गरागो विभाजकः ।
1 3232
गुणः किं धनसंसिद्ध्यै, नीलरूपो विभाजकः ॥ २८
1 1230
पातस्य गुणकारः किं, शुद्धसाक्षी विभाजकः ।
1 5795
गुणकारो धनप्राप्त्यै गौ,र्यवादी विभाजकः ॥ २९ ॥
3 841

[ग्रहोच्चमध्यमानयनम्]

एतैर्भुक्तिं समानीय संस्कृत्य धनशोधनैः ।
स्वेषु ध्रुवेषु प्रक्षिप्य साधयेदुच्चमध्यमान् ॥ ३० ॥

बुधभार्गवयोर्भानोर्मध्यमं मध्यमं विदुः ।
अन्येषां तत्तु शीघ्रोच्चं; मन्दोच्चं गीतिकोदितम् ॥ ३१ ॥

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28. C. This verse is transposed to between 22 and 23.
a. D. This line is left out. C. तुङ्गस्याद् रङ्गराजी विभाजिका
29*b*. C. गौर्यभादैः
30. In A. the following verse is interposed between 29 and 30:
राशीकृतरविभगणान्मयकाळ[क]कुपाटलैः क्रमाच्चिहि(?ह)तात् ।
सुवितर्के स्मरतनुना भानुहरैर्भेदजैर्व(? श्र)रानयने ॥
यक्षेशैः सौरसुरैर्नागरयैः कुम्भदैः कला लब्धा ।
मन्देनेन्दुभृगूणामृणं धनं मध्यमे तु शेषाणाम् ॥
a. D. समादाय. B. धनशोधने
b. Corrupt A. C. D. संक्षिप्य शोधयेद्
31*b*. A. B. C. अन्येषां वक्रिणां चोच्चं. C. मन्योच्चा...मिदोदितो
The *Mandoccas* given in the *Gītikā* are:
सवितुरमीषां च तथा
द्वा-ञखि-सा-हृ-हय-खिच्य मन्दोच्चम् ।
(*Āryabhaṭīya*, *Gītikāpāda*, 5 *c-d*)
These according to Āryabhaṭa's notation give the values: रवि 78°, बुध 210°, शुक्र 90°, कुज 118°, गुरु 180° and शनि 236°.

[कटपयादिवर्णकृतं ज्योतिषवाक्यम्]

बुधभार्गवधात्रीजसुरगुर्वर्कजन्मनाम् ।
मुजाफलकलाकाष्ठान्युच्यन्ते वर्णसंज्ञया ॥ ३२ ॥

संख्याविशेषवाचित्वाद्वाक्यं वर्णगणं विदुः ।
बहुवर्णपदं वृत्तं वाक्यवर्णप्रमापकम् ॥ ३३ ॥

[ज्यावाक्यानि]

तत्रादौ मन्दवाक्यानि विंशतिश्चतुरुत्तरा ।
ततः शैघ्राणि तावन्ति प्रथमोत्तमपादयोः ॥ ३४ ॥

तावन्ति कर्णनानात्वाद् भूयो मध्यमपादयोः ।
अथ वक्ष्यामि वाक्यानि वृत्तस्थानि यथाक्रमम् ॥ ३५ ॥

॥ इति परहितम् । समाप्तः प्रथमः ॥

32*b*. C. वर्ण not written; gap left. A. वर्णसङ्ख्यया
33*a*. A. B. C. वाच्यं. A. C. वर्गगतं, D. वर्णगतैः
b. C. वृत्ते. A. B. D. वाक्यं वर्ण; C. वाक्यवर्ण. A.D. प्रमाणकम्
34*a*. A. Corrupt विप्रतीधातुरुत्तराः
b. D. शीघ्राणि
35*a*. A. B. Corrupt वर्णनानात्वाद्
b. B. line absent. D. अथ वाक्यानि वक्ष्यामि.

The Colophon occurs only in D. This Ms. ends with this section. In B there is an indication of a stop here,

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॥ अथ द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥

[बुधमन्दज्याः ।]

घूपिना जालिना मन्मन ग्रासिना
19 38 55 72
देहिना लीनया स्तोकया धारया ।
88 103 116 129
पाविक श्यामया यातया नासिका
141 151 161 170
हासकं मोदकं काळकं चोळकम् ।
178 185 191 196
किन्नरं मन्नरं हानरं निभरं
201 205 208 210
हीपरं द्वापरं भास्करं मस्करम् ॥ १ ॥
212 214 214 215

बुधमन्दानि ।

[बुधमृगादिशीघ्रज्याः]

लोचनं मद्रिपुः छादको देवरो
63 125 187 248
लीनगुः सेतुगुः शूरवद् बाहुवत् ।
303 367 425 483
निर्घृणः शुद्धिमान् निर्मितो लीनसुः
540 595 650 703
विशासनं मन्नजनं गुणार्जनं
754 805 853
ननिर्धनं, शैवधनं दहेद्रनम् ॥
900 945 988
धरान्नृपो दन्तिनयं विनायकः ।
1029 1068 1104
सुलापकं जातुरूपः सुधीर्ययौ ॥ २ ॥
1137 1168 1197

बुधाद्यन्त्यपादयोः ।

Chapter II, being the mere enumeration of the values of the *Sighra* and *Manda* sines for the different planets, is left out entirely in B, and in C the first verse alone is given.

1*a*. C. मन्मना. *b*. C. तोकया. *c*. C. पाविकं *d*. C. भासकं

2*g*. A. reads wrongly सुधीरयै

[बुधकर्क्यादिशीघ्रज्याः ।]

यवापनं	दिःसुरनं	धनं विना
141	278	409
फलाशनं	तद्वचनं	प्रशंसनम् ।
532	646	752
तवार्जनं	योगयनं	तनूनपात्
846	931	1006
नृसंज्ञकः	शत्रुकपिः	कथास्य या ॥
1070	1125	1171
सुनीरपः	सागरकृद्	दमाश्रयो
1207	1237	1258
लसत्प्रियः	कुञ्जरकृद्	विहारकः ।
1273	1281	1284
उदीरयन्	प्रासरयं	यमद्विपुः
1280	1272	1259
प्रवीरकः	कारुरयं	सुधान्ययौ ॥ ३ ॥
1242	1221	1197

बुधमध्यपादयोः ।

[शुक्रमन्दज्याः]

कपिः	करी	नील	जलं	तव	क्रमो,
11	21	30	38	46	53
धम	द्विषो	धत्त	लसत्	तथा	धसून् ।
59	64	69	73	76	79
कदा	कृजन्	गोद	वदन्	महा	मही
81	82	83	84	85	85
मुदा	तदा	तन्द	तुद	स्तुहि	स्तुहि ॥ ४ ॥
85	86	86	86	86	86

शुक्रमन्दानि ।

[शुक्रमृगादिशीघ्रज्याः]

मधुज्ञना	नीळरनी	महाखनि-
95	190	285
निजाङ्गना	गोसवनं	सुतोन्मना ।
380	473	567

3*d*. A. reads wrongly नृसंसक

f. A. reads लसप्रियो

g. A. reads wrongly तमद्विपुः

नतस्तनं	गोमिथुनं	शुभार्जनं
660	753	845
सुबन्धनं	हारिनयं	धयनूपयः ॥
937	1028	1119
धनिप्रियः	साधुरयं	तदालयो
1209	1297	1386
वसावपो	धर्ममयं	शिवान्तिके ।
1474	1559	1645
धरासया	कूटजटो	वधूजया
1729	1811	1894
विसाधको	ग्रामनरो	धरापरा ॥ ५ ॥
1974	2052	2129

शुक्राद्यन्त्यपादयोः ।

[शुक्रकर्यादिशीघ्रज्याः]

तटान्तनु	स्तान्तकटि	जटान्तिके
616	1166	1618
सिताळका	नीलरुरु	वरोर्वरा ।
1967	2230	2424
कृताशिरः	सप्तचरः	सुकृत्सखः
2561	2657	2717
प्रमत्सरः	सूतसुरा	वृतासुरा ॥
2752	2767	2764
सभासुरा	नीरसुरा	भुजान्तरे
2747	2720	2684
यवान्तरे	रुद्रमुखः	शिलीमुखः ।
2641	2591	2535
मिसीश्वरो	लोकवरः	सभागुरु-
2475	2413	2347
स्तथा खरो	भग्ररुरु	धरापरा ॥ ६ ॥
2276	2204	2129

शुक्रमध्यपादयोः ।

[कुजमन्दज्याः]

नाभिनं	योजनं	भीरुकः	सूतकः
40	81	124	167
किङ्करः	शैशिरे	ऊनगु	विश्वगुः ।
211	255	300	344

5*g*. A. reads wrongly धरास्वया

6*e*. A. reads wrongly नीलसुरा

देह्गिो	नागवद्	रासभो	गोपर्ण
388	430	472	513
रोमशं	देहि मे	प्रद्रुतो	गोशतम् ॥
552	588	621	653
रञ्जितं	सानसे	धीरसे	सेवसे
682	707	729	747
याचसे	कत्थसे	दित्थसे	स्नेहसे ॥ ७ ॥
761	771	778	780

कुजमन्दानि ।

[कुजमृगादिशीघ्रज्याः]

निधानिनी	धीसुपनी	सुतीरिनी
90	179	267
तमालिनी	गोमवनी	फलाशनी ।
356	443	532
जपान्तनी	मीनसनी	कळार्थिनी
618	705	791
मिथोजना	नीतघना	भवाज्ञया ॥
875	960	1044
चिराययौ	धेनुरिपु	र्निधिप्रियो
1126	1209	1290
जितालया	जीवभया	शराशया ।
1368	1448	1525
अनन्तया	वासितया	तवास्थया
1600	1674	1746
तटोदकं	तुन्दजटिः	क्रमाधिका ॥ ८ ॥
1816	1886	1952

कुजाद्यन्त्यपादयोः ।

[कुजकर्क्यादिशीघ्रज्याः]

विलोभनं	स्थूलहनु	र्बुधापको
434	837	1193
विधावकः	सालसटिः	प्रबोधकः ।
1494	1737	1932
विहीनरो	दुग्धपरः	प्रहारुरुः
2084	2198	2282
प्रभागुरु	र्नादगुरु	र्नेनोभरः ॥
2342	2380	2400

विनीश्वरो दुग्धगरः प्रजागर-
2404 2398 2382
स्तृणाम्बरे रुद्रगिरौ रुजा खरः ।
2356 2322 2282
सुगीररि देहपरः सुगोपुरे
2237 2188 2137
सुसैनिरे भूपनरो रणाधिपः ॥ ९ ॥
2077 2014 1952

कुजमध्यपादयोः ।

[गुरुमन्दज्याः]

ऊरुनं नाभिनं नर्तनं कूजनं
20 40 60 81
पानकं पूरकं पावकः पाचकृत् ।
101 121 141 161
स्नेहकृद् धूलिकृत् साङ्कुरा वल्लरी
180 199 217 234
नेमिरे तित्तिरे निर्जरा गोधरा ।
250 266 280 293
मानगं मृत्पलं भूरिगुः पिङ्गलः
305 315 324 331
साल्गुः पल्वले लीढगु विह्वगुः ॥ १० ॥
337 341 343 344

गुरुमन्दानि ।

[गुरुमृगादिशीघ्रज्याः]

छलेन वासेन पटस्य सेवका
37 74 111 147
व्रजस्य सैकाग्र कुमार भेजिरे ।
183 217 251 284
तटाम्बु देवाम्बु हसाम्बु सूनवे
316 348 378 407
शिलेव रक्षस्व सहस्व कर्कशः ।
435 462 487 511
बलेश वामेश लसाम धिग्दमं
533 554 573 589
विनीत सत्पक्ष हरन्ति सङ्गतम् ॥ ११ ॥
604 617 628 637

गुर्वाद्यन्त्यपादयोः ।

9*g*. A. reads wrongly सुघीररि

[गुरुकक्ष्यादिशीघ्रज्याः]

क्षणेन	पुष्टस्य	मतस्य	तस्कर-
56	111	165	216
स्ततार	राश्याम्बु	समाम्बु	दुग्धगुः ।
266	312	357	398
सुलाभ	रासाढ्य	वनेश	डाडिमं
437	472	504	533
दिशेश	कुन्देश	निनीषु	मान्यता ।
558	581	600	615
हराक्षि	जागर्ति	शिवेषु	जीवितं
628	638	645	648
धवेषु	सर्वेषु	विभाति	साळता ॥ १२ ॥
649	647	644	637

गुरुमध्यमपादयोः ।

[शनिमन्दज्याः]

तीरनुद्	गोमनो	रञ्जन	प्रापको
26	53	82	112
द्रावको	गायको	मेनिरे	तद्गुगे ।
142	173	205	236
बन्तुरं	धीधरो	नीलगु	नीतगु-
268	299	330	360
र्धीजगु	स्तुष्टुवू	राघवो	भूतवत् ।
389	416	442	464
सिंहवत्	तन्निशि	प्रक्रम	स्तद्गुणः
487	506	522	536
संवृणः	शर्मणो	धीशमः	पक्षिणः ॥ १३ ॥
547	555	559	561

शनिमन्दानि ।

[शनिमृगादिशीघ्रज्याः]

रुरुज्ञ	शैवज्ञ	शुचिज्ञ	देहिना
22	45	65	88
धनाढ्य	धीराढ्य	हवाय	सञ्चयम् ।
109	129	148	167
मृजाढ्य	रत्नाग्र	दयाग्र	वागुरा
185	202	218	234
धवेन्द्र	रक्षाग्र	तथाग्र	संहरः ।
249	262	276	287

दुधार	दिङ्नाग	सुकील	भूरिगुः
298	309	317	324
कुलाल	शालाम्बु	नवाम्बु	लीढगुः ॥ १४ ॥
331	335	340	343

मन्दाद्यन्त्यपादयोः ।

[शनिकर्क्यादिशीघ्रज्याः]

हरज्ञ	चर्मज्ञ	गुहज्ञ	धेनुका
28	56	83	109
भगस्य	सोमस्य	नदीप	किन्नरी ।
134	157	180	201
पत्र	धीगोत्र	क्षणेत्र	केसरी
221	239	256	271
महेन्द्र	दुग्धाग्र	धनाङ्ग	हृद्यगुः ।
285	298	309	318
तरङ्गि	गङ्गाम्बु	जलाम्बु	कुम्भगी
326	333	338	341
विभाङ्गि	शोभाङ्गि	भवाङ्गि	लीढगुः ॥ १५ ॥
344	345	344	343

शनिमध्यमपादयोः ।

[॥ इति द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥]

॥ अथ तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥

[ग्रहस्फुटानयनम्]

उक्तानि साधनान्येतैर्वक्ष्ये वक्रिस्फुटक्रियाम् ।
एकमार्गं समाश्रित्य मतिभेदेऽपि तद्विदाम् ॥ १ ॥

मन्दोच्चं मध्यमाद्धित्वा यथास्वं तु भुजाकलाः ।
मख्या विभज्य यातानां वाक्यानामाप्यते प्रमा ॥ २ ॥
225

15*c*. A. reads wrongly त्रिणेत्र for क्षणेत्र

2*a*. B. तद् for तु A. भुजाफलम्; C. भुजाकलाम् ।

b. मखि is given in Āryabhaṭa's notation, meaning 225. This line and the next are left out in C.

शेषं हन्याद्विशेषेण यातान्त्यस्य परस्य च ।
मध्यैव लब्धं यातान्त्ये धनं न्यूनेऽन्यथा क्षयः ॥ ३ ॥
मखिन्यूनां भुजां मध्यैवाद्यवाक्यहृतां हरेत् ।
एवं संस्कृत्य कर्तव्यं तात्कालिकभुजाफलम् ॥ ४ ॥
मान्दं भुजाफलं शोध्यं केन्द्रे मेषादिगोलके ।
तुलादिस्थे धनं शैघ्रे व्यत्ययाद्धनशोधने ॥ ५ ॥
आदौ मन्दफलस्यार्धं मध्यमे धनशोधने ।
कृत्वा मन्दविधानेन स्थाप्यते रक्षितं क्वचित् ॥ ६ ॥
मूलमध्यममुज्झित्वा शीघ्रोच्चाद्दुक्तवत् फलम् ।
साधयित्वा तदर्धेन संस्कृतस्यैव तत्क्रिया ॥ ७ ॥
इत्थं संस्कृत्य मन्दोच्चं भूयस्तस्माद्विशोधयेत् ।
कृत्वा फलं च तत्सर्वं कल्प्यमाद्ये स्वमध्यमे ॥ ८ ॥
स्फुटमध्यममाहुस्तत् शीघ्रोच्चात्तद्विशोध्यते ।
कृत्वा तस्य फलं कल्प्यं सकलं स्फुटमध्यमे ॥ ९ ॥

3*a*. A. A few letters are missing.
b. C. यातान्ते A. B. C. क्षया
4*a*. A. मख्येवाद्य, B. मख्योराद्य A. हतं, C. हता हरेः ।
b. C. सर्वत्र for संस्कृत्य
5. This verse is available in this form only in B where it occurs between 1 and 2; but its proper place is here as is obvious from the sequence and as indicated by the corrupt remnants (?) in A and C in this place. In the place of this verse A. has :
विशोध्य केन्द्रमेषादिके धनं शीघ्रे प्र(?व्य)त्ययाद्धनशोधने
and C. has the bit धनशैघ्रे व्यत्ययाद्धनम् ।
6*a*. A. Corrupt, also lacuna: फलार्थं......स्यन्माधेनुशोधने ।
C. फलार्थस्य मध्यमे ।
b. A. रक्षिता, C. रक्ष तं
7*b*. C. संस्क्रिया for तत्क्रिया
8*a*. A. Gap in the place of भू A. विशोध्यते
b. A. Gap in the place of कल्प्य
9*a*. A. माहुस्तं. A. चात्तं, B. चात् स A. gap for शोध्यते
b. C. gives also an alternate reading :
कृत्वा फलं च तत्सर्वं सकलं स्फुटमध्यमे ।

एतैश्चतुर्भिः संस्कारैरारजीवार्कजाः स्फुटाः ।
विनाद्यमन्दसंस्कारं बुधशुक्रौ स्फुटौ मतौ ॥ १० ॥

[ग्रहवक्रम्]

चतुर्थस्फुटकेन्द्रस्य कलाभागैः सराशिभिः ।
प्रारम्भं च निवृत्तिं च वक्ष्ये वक्रस्य सम्प्रति ॥ ११ ॥

स्तनाङ्गनाम-केन्द्रश्चेद् वक्रं प्रारभते बुधः ।
5-3-6
लोमस्तनस्थ-केन्द्रश्चेत् सौम्यो मुञ्चति वक्रताम् ॥ १२ ॥
7-6-53
सुनीलकर्म-केन्द्रश्चेत् शुक्रो वक्रीति निश्चयः ।
5-13-7
जपामि पक्ष-केन्द्रश्चेद् वक्रयात्रापराङ्मुखः ॥ १३ ॥
6-15-18
स्तुवन् रौद्रेण-केन्द्रश्चेद् ध्रुवं वक्रगतिः कुजः ।
5-22-46
चिरं तुष्यति-केन्द्रश्चेद् विजहाति स वक्रताम् ॥ १४ ॥
6-16-26
मायाकुटीव-केन्द्रश्चेद् वक्रं प्रारभते गुरुः ।
4-11-15
शम्भुर्गिरिस्थ-केन्द्रश्चेन्मुक्तवक्रगतिः स्मृतः ॥ १५ ॥
7-23-45

10*a*. A. Gap for एतैश्चतु

b. B. विनाद्यं मन्द

11. A. has three extra lines after 10.

ज्यासार्धार्धहतेनान्ये गुणकारेण भाषि(?जि)ते ।
अशीत्यासकलाश्चक्राच्छोधयन्ति स्फुटं सदा ॥
कृत्वार्ककेन्द्रवत् केचित् संकुर्वन्ति स्फुटं बुधैः(? धाः) ॥

a. C. केन्द्रः स्यात् कलाभागैः

b. B. आरम्भं

12*a*. A. Broken...ना...म B. केन्द्रं. C. 12 (from मकेन्द्र), 13, 14 missing.

b. A. Broken....श्चेत्

13*a*. B. सुनीय. A. सु broken away.

14*a*. A...चन्रौद्रेण

b. A. च for स

15*a*. B. कुटिल. C. वक्रमेति बृहस्पतिः

b. C. गतिर्गुरुः

ईशसारङ्ग-केन्द्रश्चेद् वक्रं प्रारभते शनिः ।
. 3-27-50
शैवाङ्गनाम(?द)-केन्द्रश्चेन्मन्दो मुञ्चति वक्रताम् ॥ १६ ॥
8-3-45
सवर्णमिष्टकेन्द्रश्चेद् वक्राद्यन्ते तयोरपि ।
विशेषं विभजेद् भुक्त्योर्विवरेणोच्चमध्ययोः ॥ १७ ॥
दिनादिराप्यते कालो वक्रारम्भावसानयोः ।
हीने स्वकेन्द्रे भावित्वं तयोर्भूतत्वमन्यथा ॥ १८ ॥
कदाचित् प्रागपि स्यातामवधेरुपदर्शितात् ।
वक्रारम्भो निवृत्तिश्च, कालस्य तु भिदाल्पिका ॥ १९ ॥
अङ्गारकस्य त्वेकस्य कदाचित् स्यान्महीयसी ।
स्फुटमध्यमगत्या तु विज्ञेया सा विवेकिना ॥ २० ॥
यतस्तद्गतिशीघ्रत्वे वक्रारम्भश्चिरायते ।
तस्माद्वक्र[स्य] शीघ्रत्वं निवृत्तौ तु विपर्ययः ॥ २१ ॥
स्फुटमध्यमभुक्तिः स्याच्चलबाहुफलान्तरात् ।
यदा न्यूना तदाऽवक्री, भुक्त्याधिक्येन वक्रगः ॥ २२ ॥

16*a*. C. वक्रं याति शनैश्चरः ।
b. A. Corrupt शैवाहं नाळकेन्द्र. C. शिवाङ्ग
17*a*. A. केन्द्रस्य ; C. केन्द्रं चेद् B. वक्राद्यन्तोक्तयोरपि
18*a*. A. Corrupt निनानि लुप्यते
b. A. gap in the place of भाव्रित्वं B. तयोर्भूतं तदन्यथा
In A. a spurious astrological verse has come in after 18.
अष्टादशांशसंयुक्तश्शोध्यो राशिचतुष्टयात् ।
अङ्गारकस्स्फुटः शेषो रक्तस्थूणस्थितिं मतः ॥
19*a*. A. C. दर्शिता
b. B. वक्रारम्भनिवृत्तिं च. A. काल broken away.
A. भिदात्मिका ; B. हिनात्मिका ; C. भिदाल्पिता ; all mss. corrupt.
20*a*. A. त्वेतस्य दशापि स्यात्
b. A. मुक्ता तु. A. C. सुज्ञाता for विज्ञेया A. ऽसौ for सा.
21*a*. C. गति left out. A. 2nd and 3rd quarters missing.
b. B. Corrupt तन्मध्येव शीघ्रत्ववक्रा. B. तद्विपर्ययात्
22*a*. A. च broken away. B. C. भुजान्तरात् (C. न्तरं)
b. B. भुजा for तदा. B. वक्रिणः

एवमुद्देशविज्ञानं विचाराय च कल्प्यते ।
विस्पष्टं ज्ञातुकामानामुपायोऽप्युपदिश्यते ॥ २३ ॥

अतीतेऽप्युदये भूयस्तमेव स्फुटयेद् ग्रहम् ।
तत्र पूर्वस्य भूयस्त्वे वक्री, ह्रानाववक्रगः ॥ २४ ॥

सौम्ये द्वितीयपादस्थे केन्द्रे प्रारम्भ इष्यते ।
तृतीयपादसंस्थे तु वक्रस्योपरमो मतः ॥ २५ ॥

[ग्रहगत्यानयनम्]

इष्टग्रहं स्फुटीकुर्याद्व्यपेतोदयद्वये ।
स्फुटभुक्तिर्विशेषः स्यात् तयोः सर्वस्य सर्वदा ॥ २६ ॥

तया हत्वेष्टकालासूनहोरात्रासुभिर्भजेत् ।
लब्धेन भुक्तिखण्डेन युक्त्या सञ्चारयेद् ग्रहम् ॥ २७ ॥

एवं मध्यमभुक्त्यापि मध्यमं चारयेद् ग्रहम् ।
दिनान्तरेऽपि चासन्ने भुक्त्या सञ्चारणा मता ॥ २८ ॥

23*a*. A. विज्ञानविचारो यावकल्प्यते. C. प्रकल्पयेत्

b. A. C. विस्पष्टज्ञातु

24*a*. C. अतीतेऽभ्युदये

b. A. C. वक्रहाना. B. भा for ह्रा. A. मवक्रगः

25*a*. B. उच्यते for इष्यते

b. A. B. वक्रस्यापरमो

26. Verses 26—28*a* are quoted by Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa (A.D. 869) in his commentary on the Laghubhāskarīya, II. 20, (T. S. S. No. 162, p. 25).

a. A. इष्टग्रहे. B. स्फुटं; C. स्फुटीं. B. श्वेतोदय

b. A. C. भुक्तिविशेष. C. सर्वत्र for सर्वस्य

27*a*. The Laghubhāskarīya com. reads तयोर्हत्वेष्ट

b. A. बुध: for ग्रहम्. C. breaks off with this line.

28*a*. A. B. do not have this line, whereas Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa's com. quotes it. Due to its pertinency at this place it is restored here from the latter.

b. A. Corrupt सञ्चारनामत:

[ग्रहमध्यगतयः]

अथोच्यते बुधादीनां मध्यभुक्तिविलिप्तकाः ।
वि(? द्वि)लोकस्वरवेदैका, वसुषट्कस्वरेषवः ॥ २९ ॥
14732 5768
रसाष्टवसुरूपाणि, रूपेणोनशतत्रयम् ।
1886 299
शतं विंशतिसंयुक्तं ; सूर्याचन्द्रमसोरथ ॥ ३० ॥
120
वसुवेदेषुहव्याशाः, पञ्चाग्न्यब्धिस्वराब्धयः ।
3548 47435
[एक]रन्ध्रेन्दवो राहोरिन्दूच्चस्यैकखाब्धयः ॥ ३१ ॥
191 401

[ग्रहमन्दोच्चाः]

अष्टादशांशका द्वौ च राशी मन्दोच्चमुच्यते ।
भानोरिन्दोस्तु तत्पूर्वमनुपातेन साधितम् ॥ ३२ ॥
बुधादीनाममा-लोका द्विभागोनाब्धयो रसाः ।
7 3 3-28 6
चतुर्भागविहीनाष्टौ राशयः क्रमशः स्मृताः ॥ ३३ ॥
7-26

[रवीन्दुस्फुटानयनम्]

अथ वाक्यानि वक्ष्यामि भानुनक्षत्रनाथयोः ।
मन्दानि, तानि प्रत्येकं विंशतिश्चतुरुत्तरा ॥ ३४ ॥

30*a*. B. स्वराष्ट. B. रूपाणि left out.

b. B. संयुक्तः

31*a*. A. व left out. B. देवेषु for वेदेषु wrong. A. भक्तयाशाः ; B. हव्यांशाः......ब्धया ।

b. A. line missing. B. एक missing.

32*b*. A. बोधितुम् for साधितम्

33*a*. Mss. Corrupt. A.मनालोका B.महालोका.

34*a*. A. फलवाक्यानि

आदित्यस्य—

जनेन	सत्येन	मुखेन	लिप्तिका
8	17	25	33
यवेन	धावेन	समेन,	वर्तनम् ।
41	49	57	64
रसेन	ह्रासेन	मदेन	योधनं
72	78	85	91
सुधेनु	रतस्य	सुनीप	रूपकः ।
97	102	107	112
तटस्य	धान्यस्य	परस्य	भद्रक-
116	119	121	124
श्वरस्य	हारस्य	धराप	धारकः ॥ ३५ ॥
126	128	129	129

चन्द्रस्य—

नरोनु	धींगोनु	धमेन	ह्रासनं
20	39	59	78
सुधेनु	मान्यस्य	बलस्य	नामकः ।
97	115	133	150
सुतस्य	लोहस्य	जळस्य	गोपुरं
167	183	198	213
चरित्र	धीगोत्र	नृमात्र	पक्षिराट् ।
226	239	250	261
असित्र	दासित्र	महेन्द्र	कन्धरो
270	278	285	291
मृधार	दुग्धाग्र	नृनाग	पन्नगः ॥ ३६ ॥
295	298	300	301

एतैस्तात्कालिकं कृत्वा फलं सर्वेण संस्क्रिया ।
मन्दन्यायेन सूर्येन्दू संस्कृतत्वात् स्फुटौ मतौ ॥ ३७ ॥

[नक्षत्रानयनम्]

लिप्तीकृत्य स्फुटं चन्द्रं विभजेदष्टभिः शतैः ।
अश्विन्यादीनि यातानि नक्षत्राणि फलं विदुः ॥ ३८ ॥

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35. A. पूर्वोक्तानि for आदित्यस्य
B. Gives only the *pratīka*: जनेन सत्येनेत्यादि ।

36. B. Gives only the *pratīka*: नरोनु धीगोन्वित्यादि ।

37a A फलः A. Corrupt संक्रिया

शेषोऽनन्तरनक्षत्रगतांशः परिकीर्तितः ।
भागहाराद् गतं हित्वा गन्तव्यांशोऽवशिष्यते ॥ ३९ ॥
षष्ट्या हत्वा तयोरिष्टं स्फुटभुक्त्या विभाजयेत् ।
फलं सावननाड्यः स्युस्तच्छेषं षष्टिवर्धितम् ॥ ४० ॥
हृत्वा विनाड्यो भूयोऽपि प्राणा रसगुणाहृते ।

[तिथ्यानयनम्]

इति विज्ञाय नक्षत्रं तिथिज्ञानाय भास्करम् ॥ ४१ ॥
स्फुटं स्फुटेन्दोः संशोध्य शेषं कुर्यात्कलात्मकम् ।
सप्तशत्या सविंशत्या विभज्याप्ता तिथिर्गता ॥ ४२ ॥
पूर्ववद् गतगन्तव्यप्रभृत्याप्राणलाभतः ।
कुर्याद्दिनार्कशीतांशोः स्फुटभुक्तिद्वयान्तरम् ॥ ४३ ॥
भागहार इयान् भेदः सर्वमन्यन्न वि(?भि)द्यते ।
देशान्तरभुजाक्षेपात् प्रवदन्ति स्फुटत्रयम् ॥
तदस्माभिर्विनाक्तोक्त(?)महामार्गनिबन्धने ॥ ४४ ॥

[ग्रन्थसूक्ष्मता]

इति संक्षिप्य सर्वेषां ग्रहाणां कर्म कीर्तितम् ।
सर्गान्तरेऽपि चासन्ने प्रायेणैतद् भटागतम् ॥ ४५ ॥
मण्डलान्मध्यमे शुद्धे शेषो राहुस्फुटो मतः ।
उक्ता ग्रहा स्फुटास्सर्वे भटतन्त्रप्रसाधिताः ॥ ४६ ॥

[सप्तमयुगध्रुवाः]

ध्रुवाश्चापि निबध्यन्ते स्मृत्यर्थं सप्तमे युगे ।
युगान्तरे यथोक्तेन मार्गेणादौ ध्रुवक्रिया ॥ ४७ ॥

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39. A. ends with this verse; there is, however, an extraneous astrological verse after this.

मकरकेसक्त(?)मेषयुवत्यौ तुलधरमीनकुलीरघटौ च ।
ऋषभधनुर्धरकौर्पिनृयुग्मौ षष्ठरन्ध्रभवने सु(?शु)भाय:

For the rest of the work there is only one manuscript, B.

41. B. Corrupt विज्ञाननक्षत्रं

46*b*. This verse should naturally come after 37.

जवचा(? वा)नितवानतुजः, प्रेक्ष्यो लाभो जयामि किं मानी ।
8-0-46-4-48 5-15-18-43-12
अनुतिल(? न)मवाप कंसं, ग्राह्यो गावो नगाप्रयवा ॥ ४८ ॥
7-11-45-6-0 4-16-30-43-12
बरजलमवसुखि नित्यं, रम्यं मे श[र्मि]रत्ननागानाम् ।
10-26-44-38-24 3-0-25-55-12
प्रिय[धवभा]नसुरतौ, दैवतपाशं(? पोषं) नयत्यर्धम् ॥ ४९ ॥
6-27-4-49-12 9-11-4-16-48

[ग्रन्थसमाप्तिः]

परहितहेतोरेतत्परमं करणं ग्रहस्थितिज्ञानम् ।
हरिदत्तेन निगदितं हरिपदकमलैकभक्तेन ॥ ५० ॥

[॥ इति तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥]

॥ इति हरिदत्तविरचितं ग्रहचारनिबन्धनं नाम
परहितकरणं समाप्तम् ॥

48*a*. B. reads only चा ; the *Dhruva* at the commencement of the seventh yuga as calculated from the values given in I.17—18 requires the value 4, indicated, say, by वा.

b. B. reads ल ; it may be न

b. Three letters are broken here. The digits 944, arrived at by calculation, may be represented by धवभा. B reads शं ; it may be षं.

The colophon reads only परहितं समाप्तम् ।

APPENDIX

ग्रहचारनिबन्धनसंग्रहः

[मङ्गलाचरणम्]

हरिनाभिसमुत्पन्नपद्मकिञ्जल्कवर्तिने ।
प्रणम्य ब्रह्मणे कुर्याद् ग्रहचारनिबन्धनम् ॥ १ ॥

[अहर्गणानयनम्]

पतिवीर्यगुणादब्दाद् भानुना भाजितं दिनम् ।
1461 4
पुनर्ण(?नै)यगुणाद्रामपुण्याप्तदिवसैर्युतम् ॥ २ ॥
10 1152
ततः कामजिनारीति विनाढ्यादि विशोधयेत् ।
2-8-51
भटमार्गानुसारेण साधितं भृगुवारतः ॥ ३ ॥

[खण्डः]

गोरसं रसवर्येति कलिशुद्धदिनाद्धरेत् ।
1472723
तच्छेषं खण्डमित्याहुर्ज्योतिश्शास्त्रविदो जनाः ॥ ४ ॥

[रविमध्यानयनम्]

खण्डं कुलेन सङ्गुण्य विभजेद् गोत्रगायकैः ।
31 11323
फलानि मण्डलाब्दानि रविभं मासमुच्यते ॥ ५ ॥
12

1b. B. वक्ष्ये for कुर्याद्

2-3. A. does not have these two verses.

4a. A. रासभायेति for रसवर्येति. The date of this *khaṇḍa* works out to M. E. 107 (A.D. 932) A. दिनं हरेत् corrupt.

b. A. ज्योतिर्ज्ञानविदो

5b B. मण्डलाप्तानि A. corrupt रसभं गतमासयुक् ।

तच्छेषं द्वादशत्रिंशत्षष्टथा गुण्य हरेत् क्रमात् ।
लब्धं तु राशिभागादि संस्थाप्य च पृथक् पृथक् ॥ ६ ॥

मासं मागुणितं हृत्वा सभास्तुल्यैः कलाः, हरेत् ।
5 1647
भानोर्मध्यममेवं स्या;दिन्द्वादीनां यथाक्रमम् ॥ ७ ॥

[चन्द्रादिमध्यानयनम्]

अनन्तं गुणयेदिन्दो,र्विभजेद् गन्धगीतकैः ।
600 16393
गुणयेद्दणलाभाय किं, शिरीषी विभाजकः ॥ ८ ॥
1 625
किं गुणश्चन्द्रतुङ्गस्य, रङ्गरागो विभाजकः ।
1 3232
गुणः किं घनसंसिद्ध्यै, नीलरूपो विभाजकः ॥ ९ ॥
1 1230
गुणकारः क्षमासूनोः किं, सुजातो विभाजकः ।
1 687
किं गुणो धनलाभाय, भानुहारी विभाजकः ॥ १० ॥
1 2804
अनीकं गुणकृच्चान्द्रेः, साधुसाही विभाजकः ।
100 8797
वर्धयेद्धनलाभाय धी,र्विदाही विभाजकः ॥ ११ ॥
9 884
गुणकारो गुरोर्नाकं, हारको गुरुगालवः ।
10 43323
धनाय गुणकारः किं, तीरनीपो विभाजकः ॥ १२ ॥
1 1026
धीभोगप्रापको हारो, ननाम गुणकृद् भृगोः ।
112349 500
गुणयेद्दणसंसिद्ध्यै किं, यक्षेशो विभाजकः ॥ १३ ॥
1 561

6a. B. पुनः for क्रमात्

b. A. लब्धं राश्यो भागकलाः

7a. B. कृत्वा for हृत्वा. B. कलां for कलाः

b. B. चन्द्रादीनां for इन्द्वादीनां

B. has after 7, the words लब्धं तु राशिभागादि and stops abruptly in the middle of a line and the rest of the folio is left blank.

किं गुणस्सूर्यपुत्रस्य, हारकस्ततसैनिकः ।
1 10766
ऋणाय गुणकारः किं, सारसारो विभाजकः ॥ १४ ॥
1 2727
पातस्य गुणकारः किं, शुद्धसाक्षी विभाजकः ।
1 6795
गुणकारो धनप्राप्त्यै गौ,र्यवादी विभाजकः ॥ १५ ॥
3 841
खण्डं गुण्य हृतं त्यक्त्वा शेषे कार्यं समाचरेत् ।
मासकार्याब्दसंस्कारध्रुवयुक्तं तु मध्यमम् ॥ १६ ॥

[शकाब्दसंस्कारः]

विभवोनशकाब्दं तु कुजादीनां यथाक्रमम् ।
444
शिव-नीरूढ-संभि(च्नगुणकारै?द्-गुणक-नरै)र्गुणीकृते ॥ १७ ॥
45 420 47 153 20
मागरार्त वियुक् शुक्रगुर्वो,र्युग् ज्ञारसौरिषु ।
235
चन्द्रतत्तुङ्गपातानां धन-शेष-लयै-र्हृते ।
9 65 13
महा-वैलक्ष्य-रागैश्च लब्धं हीनं,महेर्युतम् ॥ १८ ॥
85 134 32

[बीजरूपशकाब्दसंस्कारः]

भवभानूनिते शाके बीजघ्ने शबरोद्धृते ।
444 235 a
फलं लिप्ताविलिप्ताः स्युर्ज्ञाराक्यैर्हि(?र्हौ) धनं भवेत् ॥ १९ ॥
चन्द्रतत्तुङ्गजीवानां ऋणं कार्यं भृगोरपि ।
चन्द्रे बाणकरा बीज,श्चन्द्रोच्चे मनुभूमयः ॥ २० ॥
25 114

17b. Emendation according to the well-known Parahita Śakābda-Saṁskāra.

19. The Ms. reads before this अपि च आर्यभटीये ।

a. The Ms. reads भवमागोनिते which is wrong.

19-22a Quoted by Gārgya Kerala Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary on a work on *Grahaṇa* found at the end of a ms. (Trivandrum Palace No. 975) of his *bhāṣya* on his own *Siddhāntadarpaṇa.*

कुजे शून्यशरा ज्ञेयाः, खाग्निवेदा बुधस्य तु ।
50 430
गुरोः खपञ्च विज्ञेयाः, शुक्रे खाङ्गनिशाकराः ॥ २१ ॥
50 160
शनेः शशिकराः प्रोक्ता, राहोः षण्णवतिः स्मृताः ।
21 '540

[खण्डध्रुवाणि]*

रामो राज्यद आरस्य, शशिनो भूमिनायकः ॥ २२ ॥
8-12-52 1-10-54
बुधस्य लाभेन्दुकरः, तथा धीनायको गुरोः ।
2-18-43 0-11-9
खरत्रिरात्रं शुक्रस्य, शनेर्नागेशयोर्धनम् ॥ २३ ॥
2-22-22 9-15-30
चन्द्रतुङ्गस्य मालेयं नायक,स्तामसं खरः ।
11-1-35 2-27-56
राहो,र्ध्रुवाणि चैतानि योज्यानि स्फुटमुच्यते ॥ २४ ॥

[ग्रहमन्दोच्चाः]

दास(?य)श्री सूर्यमन्दोच्चं, दाराङ्गं भूमिजस्य तु ।
2-18 3-28
नानार्थं ज्ञस्य, नानीति गुरो, र्ज्ञानाङ्गना भृगोः ॥ २५ ॥
7-0 6-0 3-0
तरसेति शने,र्मान्यमुच्चं सूर्यात् क्रमाद्विदुः ।
7-26

[रविचन्द्रस्फुटानयनम्]

मन्दोच्चं मध्यमात् त्यक्त्वा ज्ञात्वाजादि तुलादि च ॥ २६ ॥

उद्धृत्य तु भुजाकोटी भुजाया ज्यापरिग्रहः ।
एकराश्यष्टमं भागैः शुभाङ्गै;र्ज्या विशोधिते ॥ २७ ॥
3-45
तच्छेषं लिप्तिकाः कृत्वा ज्यान्तरेण विवर्धयेत् ।
भुजाशेषैः शरीरज्ञैर्लब्धं ज्यासु नियोजयेत् ॥ २८ ॥
225
ज्याफलं मध्यमेऽजादौ हन्याद्युञ्ज्यात्तुलादिके ।
रवीन्द्वोः स्फुटमेवं स्यात्; कुजादीनां तु वक्ष्यते ॥ २९ ॥

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* These *dhruvas* pertain to the *khaṇḍa* गोरसं रसवर्यं previously mentioned.

[कुजादिस्फुटानयनम्]

कुजस्य मन्दसंस्कारं मन्दोच्चं स्वस्वमध्यमात् ।
हित्वाजादितुलादी च ज्ञात्वा तज्ज्यापरिग्रहः ॥ ३० ॥

फलार्धं मध्यमेऽजादौ हन्याद्युज्ज्यात्तुलादिके ।
आदित्यमध्ये तन्मन्दं हित्वा शीघ्रविदो जनाः ॥ ३१ ॥

मन्दे फलार्धं मेषादौ धनं हारं तुलादिके ।
शीघ्रान्मन्दोच्चमुद्धृत्य मन्दज्या सकलं फलम् ॥ ३२ ॥

स्वमूलमध्यमेऽजादौ हन्याद्युज्ज्यात्तुलादिके ।
स्वशीघ्रे स्फुटमध्याख्यं विशोध्य स्फुटमध्यमे ॥ ३३ ॥

शीघ्रन्यायागतं सर्वं धनं हारं तुलादिके ।
एवमारस्फुटं विद्या,देवं गुर्वर्कजन्मनोः ॥ ३४ ॥

[बुधशुक्रस्फुटानयनम्]

स्वमध्यमे रवेर्मध्यं संविभज्यार्कमध्यमे ।
मेषादिश्चेद्धनं शोध्यं तुलादौ शुक्रशीघ्रके ॥ ३५ ॥

शीघ्रान्मन्दोच्चमुद्धृत्य मन्दज्या स ं फलम् ।
स्वमूलमध्यमेऽजादौ हन्याद्युज्ज्या ुलादिके ॥ ३६ ॥

स्फुटमध्यममित्याहुः शुक्रस्यैतन्मनीषिणः ।
स्वशीघ्रे स्फुटमध्याख्यं विशोध्य स्फुटमध्यमे ॥ ३७ ॥

पश्चात् प्रथमराशिश्चेद् धनं तौल्यादिके ऋणम् ।
एवं कृतस्फुटं विद्याद् भार्गवस्य बुधस्य च ॥ ३८ ॥

[ग्रहाणां अस्तमयभागाः]

सायं भौमे, बुधे लोको, धनं शुक्रे, पट्टगुरुः(?रौ) ।
17 13 9 11
माया सौरीति(?सौरेऽपि) विज्ञेया भागाश्चास्तमयोदयाः ॥ ३९ ॥
15

स्फुटगतिः

तृतीये(?य)स्फुटकेन्द्रस्य भुजज्यान्तरसङ्गुणाः ।
स्वस्वमध्यगती, हृत्वा शरीरैस्तत्फलं पुनः ॥ ४० ॥
225
मध्यभुक्तौ कुलीरादौ धनं हीनं मृगादिके ।
मन्दस्फुटीकृतां भुक्तिं प्रोज्झ्य शीघ्रोच्चभुक्तितः ॥ ४१ ॥

शीघ्रज्यान्तरसंक्षुण्णं शेषं मख्या हरेत् ; फलम् ।
225
स्वमन्दस्फुटभुक्तौ तन्मकरादौ च योजयेत् ॥ ४२ ॥

कर्क्यादा शोधयेत् तस्मिन् पूर्वाधिक्ये तु योजयेत् ।
फलाधिके तु वक्रं स्यादिति ज्यातर्विः(?)विधिः ॥ ४३ ॥

[ग्रहाणां ज्याप्रतीकानि]*

नाभिनं यो-निधानूनि-विलोभन कुजस्य तु ।
40 (1) 90 434
धूपिना-लोचन-यवापन-मिन्दुसुतस्य च ॥ ४४ ॥
19 63 141
ऊरुनन्ना-च्छलेनैव क्षणेन सुरमन्त्रिणः ।
20 37 56
कपिः करी-मधुज्ञना तटान्तनु भृगोरपि ।
11 (21) 95 616
तीरनुद्-रुरुज्ञ शैव-हरज्ञः सूर्यजस्य च ॥ ४५ ॥
26 22 (45) 28

॥ इति परहितं समाप्तम् ॥

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* These are the first sines of the three sets, *Manda*, *Śīghra* (*makarādi*) and *Śīghra* (*karkyādi*), of the original, II. 1-15.

44a. यो refers to the first letter of the second *jyā*, योजनं, 81'.

45a. छलेन alone forms the *jyā*.

b. करी is the second *jyā* of the *Manda* set.

46a. शैव is the second *jyā* of the *Śīghra* (*makarādi*) set.

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